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SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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FULLER VERSION OF YAKOVLEV SOCIAL SCIENCES SPEECH PUBLISHED

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[Speech by A. N. Yakovlev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, corresponding member of USSR Academy of Sciences, at the USSR Academy of Sciences 17 April 1987 conference of social scientists on the tasks of the social sciences at the present stage of development of Soviet society: "Achievement of a Qualitatively New Condition of Soviet Society and the Social Sciences"]

[Text] Comrades! October and the present-day restructuring, which are separated by seven decades, are inseparably linked by succession, are united in their main aspects. Both the revolution and the restructuring, to use Lenin's words, are "a time of action, of action both from the top and from the bottom" (1). The restructuring is a time of self-purification and of fundamental changes, the continuation, under new historic conditions, of the cause of the Great October. The restructuring is also a process of the objective analysis of the state of affairs in our society, in worldwide development, in everything that goes to form the everyday existence of man and mankind.

Since the March 1985 CPSU Plenum, the party has undertaken tasks that have been completely unprecedented in their innovation, scope, complexity, and responsibility. Sometimes it is necessary to solve equations with many unknowns. The restructuring has been proceeding with difficulty and in a contradictory manner. It has been hindered by a series of inhibiting factors, which include the fact that, for the time being, there is a lack of theoretical support for the current and forthcoming reforms.

Speaking at the All-Union Conference of Heads of Social Science Departments, M. S. Gorbachev emphasized that theory is necessary for literally every step that we take forward, and that it is a most important instrument in restructuring. The necessity for the theoretical interpretation of the revolutionary tasks and the acceleration methods is aggravated by the fact that the restructuring is turning increasingly sharply in the plane of practical matters.

The past two years have been marked by a forceful theoretical search, in the course of which we have seen the formulation and implementation, in the life of the party and of the nation, of a series of ideas that have enriched us intellectually and emotionally. The April 1985 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Congress, and the January 1987 Plenum of the Central Committee, by revealing the reasons for the stagnation in society, gave a new vision of the socialist future, and a general understanding the goals and nature of the revolutionary changes. A broad program of research in the social sciences was advanced, both with regard to the fundamental questions pertaining to our movement, and in applied aspects. The CPSU Central Committee decree concerning KOMMUNIST magazine is of great importance. It can be asserted that during this period of time there has been created, for the most part, the ideological-theoretical platform for acceleration.

First of all, the April Plenum and the CPSU Congress armed the party with a scientifically adjusted knowledge of the fundamental features of the modern era, of the contradictory but interdependent and largely integral world, by an understanding of the optimal paths, means, and methods of resolving the questions that are of vital importance for the fates of civilization at a crucial stage in world history. We have seen the advancement of a concept and methodology of a new way of political thinking, which is based on an analysis of the dialectically class factor and the universally human factor under present-day conditions, and on the fact that it is only socialism, in alliance with all the progressive, democratic, revolutionary forces, that is capable of preserving and multiplying the values of mankind as a whole, and of demonstrating historic initiatives in the chief sectors of social progress.

Large-scale questions pertaining to the complicated dialectical interrelations between the internal development of socialism and world development as a whole have been raised. The requirements that time dictates are determined not only by the pragmatic aspects of today's and yesterday's situation in the world, but also by those new forms that the historic confrontation between the two systems is acquiring under conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, linking among themselves in an especially close and indissoluble manner the intrasocietal and international aspects of social progress.

The party's collective creative minds have developed a concept that is revolutionary in its innovation -- the concept of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the achievement, on that basis, of a qualitatively new condition of society. The seed of the revolutionary restructuring was planted in the nation's soil precisely at that time, in April 1985. It germinated into the mass struggle to carry out the program of the renovation of socialism.

The concept of acceleration is not only, and not so much, the response to the question of how to increase the rates of economic growth. It is the search for effective ways and means to assure that, in the foreseeable future, socialist society actually becomes the embodiment of that which is advanced and humanitarian in worldwide social progress, and the model of social effectiveness and spiritual wealth.

The new approach to social policy renders in concrete form the humanistic tradition of Marxist-Leninist thought, and to a large extent determines the innovative nature of the present-day system of socioeconomic, spiritual, and moral priorities of party policy. In this renewed system of value coordinates, the factor that actually moves into the center is man as the specific goal for progress and socialism, and the human factor as his decisive force.

There has been a considerable enrichment of our ideas concerning the underlying regularities in the development of the economy of socialism, and concerning the dialectics of productive forces and production relations. We have witnessed the raising in a new way of the questions of improving the implementation of socialist nationwide ownership, particularly the development of its cooperative forms, the inclusion of commodity-monetary relations in the work to be done, and the principles of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress under conditions of the socialist system.

A factor of fundamental importance is the criticism of the technocratic way of thinking, which established deep roots in the consciousness of the workers and the scientific-technical intellectual class. The broad extension of technocratism is the direct result of the underevaluation of the role and importance of the social sciences. Vulgar economism gives rise to the approach when the resolution of national-economic, production-technology tasks is perceived and interpreted as the direct and immediate resolution of social tasks. The historical reasons for this are understandable. But the times have changed fundamentally. However, the inertia of consciousness, the inertia of approaches have remained. Meanwhile the strong economy and the powerful material sphere as a whole, obviously, are a fundamental prerequisite for resolving the social problems, for the progress of society. But it is a prerequisite, rather than a decision itself. It is only the complete and organic linking up of the economic, social, and spiritual that yields the effect of the qualitative integration of the new system.

A key feature of April lies in increasing the rate of activity in the entire system of political and social institutions, in the deepening of socialist democracy, and in the idea of the self-government of the nation. The line aimed at the taking of all steps to increase democratization received fundamental development at the 27th Congress and the January Plenum of the Central Committee, and it is consistently confirmed and enriched by the practice of political and spiritual life.

The innovative restructuring has been permeated by the revolutionary wind of major changes. It cannot be "a revolution of delayed expectations." Unjustified delay in the resolving of vitally important tasks is fraught with serious consequences. Revolutionary principles cannot abide marking time. The moods of "gradualness" in the restructuring can only pull us back, can only promote the preservation of inhibiting phenomena and processes.

The revolutionary nature of the restructuring lies in the recognition of the fact that we do not have the right to lose any more time -- either in choosing a strategy and tactics, or in the scientific, Marxist-Leninist substantiation of every orientation marker, of every task, of every step. This is required

by the goals of the qualitative renovation of Soviet society, it is required by the time, as well as the conclusions that we have drawn from the experience and lessons of the past.

The restructuring is an act of creative and purposeful creation. It has been called upon to be such not only in the area of economics, politics, and social life, but also everywhere that the condition, tendencies, and prospects of the spiritual are affected: in culture and education, in the social sciences, and morality, literature, and art.

The current political and moral atmosphere will make it possible to carry out a sober and honest analysis of the degree and depth of awareness of the role and responsibility of the social sciences under the new conditions. Following the lessons of truth at the 27th Congress and the decisions of the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, we must speak about everything and carry out the job at the highest limit of frankness, openly. As Lenin taught, "we must not pull the wool over our own eyes, we must be bold enough to recognize frankly that which exists" (2).

I would like, and indeed am obliged, to say with all definiteness: neither the practical return on the efforts expended by the social sciences, nor their position in society, nor the condition of science itself can be recognized as being satisfactory from the point of view of their conformity to the requirements of the time. An alarmingly critical situation consists in the fact that, in the social sciences, one observes the operation of their own inhibiting mechanism, which not only hinders the emancipation of the potential capabilities of the social sciences, but also, through science itself and awareness as a whole, exerts a negative effect upon practice.

It is very important for our social scientists, as rapidly as possible, to restore their good name, and to analyze critically and self-critically their miscalculations in the past. That will be a curative step. Putting it mildly, it is not often that our philosophers, political economists, historians, and literary scientists have acted in the role of pioneers and defenders of that which is new and advanced, as opponents of routine. At one time they took a hand in discrediting cybernetics and genetics, and subsequently in declaring to be practically antiscientific the methods of mathematical modeling in economics, in ridiculing domestic forecasting, etc. In retrospect it is clear: too many efforts proved to be expended actually to achieve the theoretical substantiation of complacency and external well-being, and thus of stagnation in the country's socioeconomic and political development. This is an inheritance that must be decisively rejected. And it must be done in a thoroughgoing manner: in order to extract lessons for the future -- both lessons pertaining to political philosophy and those pertaining to morality.

But there is something else that is just: in addition to the processes that have currently received social censure, different ones that are opposite to them developed. There was intensive work of party and civic conscience, without which the April Plenum of the Central and today political and moral shaking would be inconceivable. There was a search for ideas, and an increase

in the scope of the discussion of a broad circle of problems pertaining to economics, administration, social life, and socialist legality.

Of course, by no means everything that was discussed was of identical value. Everything had not been prompted by life itself. But it is important that, by means of such searches, discussions, and doubts, the ideological-moral potential of the future fundamental changes broke through and gradually built up strength. In society and science the requirement grew: put an end to passivity, inertia, political irresponsibility, abuses, the thoughtless drifting along with the current, dogmatism, and scholasticism.

And therein lies yet another confirmation both of the historic conditions that influenced the restructuring, but also of its feasibility, the need for the close interrelating of the objective course of the restructuring with political and psychological readiness for the scientific elaboration of the real problems of socialist building. In essence, socialism is standing today before a new stage both of practice and of theory. What is needed is the integral, comprehensive interpretation of what has been experienced, what has been achieved, and what is ahead of us, so that we can obtain a more capacious, more complete idea of all the nuances and fine points of our forward movement, recognize its concrete tasks promptly, and find the means of resolving them.

I

The most important thing today is to concentrate the considerable intellectual potential of Soviet social sciences on the resolution of the key tasks of developing socialism. This must be done with a consideration of the experience -- both the positive and the negative. And what is important here is not only what has to be studied, but how it must be done. In other words, profound restructuring must also affect social sciences.

First, it is necessary to have a fundamental awareness by the social scientists of their responsibility for theoretical interpretation, for the further elaboration of the acceleration strategy and tactics, and for how the restructuring is proceeding and will proceed.

Second, in the social sciences an atmosphere of creative search must be created, a search-oriented way of thinking must be aroused, and an open expanse must be opened up for innovative ideas, new views, and unique recommendations.

Third, revolutionary renovation is impossible without a fundamental breaking of schematic designs that have absolutely nothing to do with real life. Without the rejection of everything that has not received confirmation in practice or that was based on distorted practice, everything that objectively turned out to be an apologia of stagnation and conservatism.

Fourth, reliable organizational links must be established between the social sciences and practice in the interests of the restructuring and acceleration. But also in the interests of science itself. Otherwise theory will freeze,

minds will dry up, and practice will be doomed to a superficial sliding over life's problems.

Fifth, the functioning mechanism itself of the scientific collectives must be made in such a way that that mechanism constantly encourages the democratic interrelations among the scientists, and disrupt any attempts to monopolize the truth.

Recently there has been broad, increasing criticism of the social sciences for its remoteness, its complete separation from social practice, for its work style and methods, and for its atmosphere of scientific activity. This is justified criticism. Social sciences have not simply reflected the condition of society, but has also taken active part in forming it. The ideology of stagnation and the camouflaging of stagnation did not require a precise knowledge of life. Everything that did not fit into the Procrustean bed of dogmatic thought and the practice of "universal rapture" was considered -- publicly or secretly -- to be dubious and suspect. The January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee in a completely definite manner expressed its opinion on this score.

Are we really to believe that the concept of mature, developed socialism was not assigned a situational interpretation that is oriented at an unhurried, shy, inconsistent improvement in specific details, which sanctified complacency and dulled people's awareness of the cardinal changes whose time had come?

Are we really to believe that the ignoring of Lenin's ideas concerning cooperative action, and the attitude toward subsidiary farms and individual labor activity as being something alien to socialism, did not exclude the considerable potential resources of society?

Are we really to believe that runes and sagas addressed to an unconditionally necessary, very important, but nevertheless only one component part of the principle of democratic centralism -- the central forms of administration -- did not enslave initiative, independence, and socialist enterprise, did not engender a departmental approach and bureaucratism, which became the leading levers in the economic mechanism?

Are we really to believe that the concepts of those who were against the commodity policy, and who took a path that led rather to political accusations, did not turn out to be an economic inhibitor? There was more than enough hypocrisy. But people only felt that it was simply scientific disputes that were in progress. Actually, the disdain for the law of value prevailed both in theory and in practice. The ignoring of cost accounting and of self-support [samookupayemost], and the subsidy method in the economics of a number of branches rendered poor service to the national economy, with all the consequences evolving therefrom.

Are we really to believe that the lack of broad openness, of genuine monitoring from below, the lowering of the level of criticism and self-criticism, and the gap between word and deed did not contribute to a buildup of undesirable situations in society -- social passivity and corruption,

irresponsibility and moral dissipation, careerism and consumerism? These are by no means rhetorical questions. We cannot travel along the road of restructuring if we have not clarified the reasons why these situations became possible. These reasons lay both in the area of practice and in the sphere of consciousness. Mention has already been made about the the former ones; I would like to dwell on the latter ones.

We have taken the path of socialist building and have been proceeding along it not simply under exceptionally complicated conditions. It was necessary for us, en route, to gain a theoretical interpretation of the problems and contradictions in the new society, which was a pioneering society in its nature, and to develop concepts for the future. There were no ready-made blueprints for socialism, and there could not have been any.

Under those conditions certain theoretical principles of Marxism-Leninism were sometimes transferred mechanically into practice, without a consideration of the real conditions. Wherever this was not completely successful or wherever it was simply that there was a lack of ideas that had been sufficiently elaborated previously, their place was occupied by frankly situational, quasi-scientific structures that resembled, more than anything else, mystical table-turning.

The situation developed in which the preference began to be given to scholastic research, lying at the basis of which were invented constructs that were completely unrelated to life and its real processes. For example, one idea that was forced on people was the idea of the increasing uniformity as our society moved closer to communism, the idea of the disappearance, or dying away, of variety. In economics, there would be only state, nationwide property, and one scheme for administering it. In the social sphere, there would be the wiping out of absolutely all differences. In the political sphere, there would be the immutability of the political structures. And so on. To the proponents of this approach, progress was viewed as increasing simplification, as the putting of absolutely everything into the same alignment.

The works of K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin are distinguished primarily by a vision of the real dialectics of life, and of the complexity and variety of historical development. The entire experience known to us attests to the fact that history has never, not in a single sector, achieved progress by way of simplification. On the contrary, every subsequent formation, every socioeconomic or political system, has proven to be inwardly more complicated than the preceding one. And there is no justification for considering socialism and communism in this sense to be an exception. Nevertheless the concept of uniformity was forced with enviable stubbornness both into practice and into the theoretical structures. Its influence can even be detected today -- in the approaches to the resolution of a number of tasks in economics, the social sphere, and culture.

Or let us take the situation with regard to the action of the underlying social regularities. When considering, for example, capitalism, we see the complexity, the alternative nature of its inner processes and mechanism. But as soon we begin talking about socialism, what begins to operate is,

practically speaking, complete automation that does not depend on man. It is as though the production relations themselves come into conformity with the development of the productive forces. The planned and proportional nature of economic development, and the resolution of social questions, are assured by themselves. The mechanisms of the development of social awareness, social justice, relations among the nationalities, and many other processes, operate automatically.

I could continue the list of examples. The ideas that were mentioned, and other ones, were combined with those processes in social life which were leading to the absolutization of the existing theoretical formulas, to the equating of the transient peculiarities of a definite historical stage and the essential characteristics of socialism as a system, and even the canonization of certain principles and concepts. As a consequence, there appeared a stable tendency toward taking a lightened attitude toward the role of social science in the process of socialist building.

At the January Plenum of the Central Committee, mention was made of the fact that during this period there had been a simplified treatment of certain Leninist principles concerning socialism, and their theoretical depth and significance had been emasculated. The ideas that became widespread were superficial ones concerning communism, abstract theorizings that had absolutely nothing to do with life, and invented prophecies.

A vicious circle was being formed. Unhealthy situations in practice gave rise to unhealthy tendencies in social awareness, and in science. And in turn those tendencies, the farther they went, hampered more and more strongly the return of theory and practice into the channels of reality, of actual life with its contradictions.

In other words, the ability to carry out critical self-analysis was gradually lost. Instead of studying the actual living socialism, the preference was given to designing speculative models. Theory was becoming increasingly tautological. We either dashed ahead, declaring the building of communism to be the immediate task of the day. Or, guided essentially by trivial evolutionism, we absolutized the stability of the economic, social, and other structures, and justified the stagnation and sluggishness in the process of socialist reforms. The demands made on social science took on a completely situational nature, as a result of which science was losing its actual function.

Those tendencies became especially noticeable in the 1970's, when the study of actual, live socialism began to be replaced in an increasingly frank manner by invented formulas and schemes. Moreover, under the influence of an uncritical attitude toward phenomena of stagnation, an entire series of actions that distorted the movement of theoretical thought was formed and became ossified. A principle that was assigned to oblivion was Lenin's principle to the effect that the value of theory lies primarily in the precise depiction of "all those contradictions" that occur in life. Principles that proved to be impoverished, if not emasculated, were Lenin's principles concerning socialism as a developing society, the progress of which requires the constant analysis of real practice.

As a result, we entered the 1980's not only with serious practical simplifications and miscalculations that today are well known to us, but also with theoretical awareness that is largely at the level of the 1930's, when our society was at a relatively early stage in its development. That situation assisted the well-being of dogmatism, scholasticism, and quotation-mongering. And, on the contrary, it hindered the creative elaboration of the problems of modern socialism.

The previously mentioned absolutization affected not only individual concepts and principles. The basic skeleton of social knowledge as a whole also became its object. Even the simple extension of research into certain new problems and areas was frequently viewed as the "undermining of certain foundations." In the same way that enclaves that were closed to criticism were formed, there was an increase in the number of areas that were closed to scientific research. The idea prevailed that only partial, evolutionary corrections were permissible, and even those were to be only in practice, rather than in theory. Among a rather large number of scientific workers, especially young ones, there existed the false conviction that socialism could not be researched at all. That was actually nothing else but preparation for the funeral of the very nucleus of revolutionary theory -- its dialectics, the essence of which is development. It must be obvious to every Marxist that any deadening of revolutionary theory -- that supreme intellectual capital of mankind -- leads to serious consequences.

We shall have to reach a new level in the sober evaluation of experience -- without any exceptions. The evaluation both of miscalculations and of achievements. We shall have to take an attitude to everything without any prejudice, we must be self-critical, and must be honestly and frankly aware of the consequences to which we have been led by the conciliatory interpretation of certain principles of revolutionary theory, an interpretation that contradicts the essence of that theory, and must mobilize ourselves, and the scientific collectives, for the revolutionary search for answers to the questions of life. That is what is required today of the social sciences.

This is a difficult and painful process, but it is inevitable. It would be naive to expect the sudden transformation of views: yesterday it was one thing, and today it is the opposite. It is indeed not difficult to capture the current situation. It is another matter to undergo the painful process of changing one's internal way of thinking, of reinterpreting that which time has converted into convictions.

We are all the product of our time, and sometimes we are also its prisoners. But no one is going to act for us in restructuring life in the new way, no one else is going to interpret theoretically the problems that have arisen, no one else is going to rid us of the rather large number of ideas, which possibly were true for their time but which, under the pressure of the new conditions and the new tasks, have lost their former force.

Today there would seem to exist among social scientists a definite "split mind."

On the one hand, there exists an understanding of the complexity and responsibility of the historical factor. Probably more clearly than anyone else, scientists can see and evaluate soberly the situation in the economy and in the spiritual-moral sphere. We transgress against the truth if we say that the buildup of negative tendencies has not given rise to alarm on the part of many social scientists or has gone unnoticed by them. There have been well-known representatives of social science who have sharply raised problems that have come to a head, without taking into consideration the fact that such actions have not improved their health or their social status.

But, on the other hand, one still observes the strong effect of inertia, the comforting illusion according to which the present-day condition of the social sciences, in principle, truly reflects the present-day stage in the development of socialism. This "mirror" perception nullifies or, in any case, strongly hinders the awareness that negative phenomena and stagnation are the consequence of dogmatism and of concepts and dead schemes that have no relationship to life. That is why it is so important to overcome the unusual personal remoteness from the difficulties that people are currently experiencing, so important not to give in to the temptation to engage in self-indulgence, to understand how necessary it is to return to social-science research the Leninist spirit of the fearless search for the truth.

Creative Marxism-Leninism has always been disclosure, rather than covering up. "...We constantly refer to Vladimir Ilich Lenin, to his thoughts and ideas," M. S. Gorbachev said at the January Plenum of the Central Committee. "This is not simply tribute in the form of tremendous respect, is not only the recognition of Lenin's authority. It is the persistent striving to revive under present-day conditions -- and to revive as fully as possible -- the spirit of Leninism..."

Leninism is the classically derived standard lessons of revolutionary dialectics. "It is necessary to ascertain for oneself that indisputable truth that a Marxist must take into consideration real life, the precise facts of activity, rather than continue to grasp onto yesterday's theory" (3). That is V. I. Lenin's credo. That is his conviction. There is no one more intelligent than real life. Life is more intelligent than any genius. Even in that which was happening at that very moment, Lenin saw the movement of life, development, and the dialectics of life processes.

The militant antagonist of dialectics is dogmatism, that parasitical excrescence on the live body of revolutionary theory. Complacent ignorance and selfish time-serving is the soil for the growth of dogmatism, quotation-mongering, and scholasticism.

The dogmatic interpretation of economic laws and categories, of certain principles concerning socialism, socialist democracy, socialist justice, and the rates and prospects of development of communist civilization has formed stagnant zones in the science that deals with society. Hence the chief requirement -- or, if you will, the social mandate -- of social science is to revive the creative, dialectical, Leninist, realistic approach to the understanding of the goals and means of socialist reforms, to study -- in a painstaking and thoughtful manner -- the real contradictions, and to reject

their vulgar, philistine treatment. We must approach facts of life not from previously assigned and convenient and comforting principles, but we must proceed from the realities of existence, from actual life processes, to conclusions, to the formulation of principles and goals. That is the path of the true science of society.

On the basis of the new realities of life, on a new informational basis, it is completely possible to have breakthroughs, enrichments of the classic storehouse, the achievement of new laws governing social existence.

It is a fact, but we who recognize dialectics as the universal theory of the development and methodology of revolutionary reform, have far from always rendered support, for verification purposes, to that which is new either in science or in practice. Moreover, we frequently rejected the new if we did not find for it an immediate, literal confirmation in the classic heritage, without noting that in this way we require the impossible of the classic authors. Foreseeing in all its details the future of the new society, foreseeing all the details pertaining to the degrees and peculiarities of development, is impossible, to use Lenin's words, for even 70 Marxes.

It is not by accident that these words were expressed from the podium of the 27th party congress. K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin resolved the tasks of their time. They left us a great heritage of their achievements and discoveries, and a creative methodology. But any heritage must be used skillfully, especially a heritage that is so brilliant as Marxism-Leninism, a heritage which, by its nature, is antidogmatic, has itself been engendered by life, and requires constant penetration into the secrets of social existence.

The social sciences today are simply required to interpret the innovative nature and peculiarities of the restructuring, and the conditions under which it is being carried out. Any primitivism here is only the latest form of dogmatism. It is necessary to do this work ourselves, rather than to "shift" it to the classic authors. The essence of the matter is to assure that the accumulated theoretical and methodological potential, the dialectical thought itself, is directed at promoting and encouraging new principles and approaches.

II

The theoretical task that should serve as our takeoff point can be formulated briefly as follows: present-day socialism must understand, first of all, itself. This will not happen if social science continues to be dominated by the fear of dealing with problems which have not yet become a component part of the political decisions, and, with respect to the latter, science continues to remain at the level of providing commentary.

Writer Aleksandr Yashin wrote the story "Levers." The essence of the story, if you might recall, is the following. Four Communist kolkhoz members are awaiting a fifth one, in order to hold a party meeting. They begin a relaxed discussion "about life": they curse the procedures on the kolkhoz, the mismanagement, the arbitrariness of the rayon agricultural agencies, the lack of substantiation in the plans that have been sent down from above, etc. But

then the fifth person arrives, and it is a school teacher who is worried about the problem of getting firewood for her school. "We can talk about things later on, but now it's necessary to conduct the meeting," they tell her, cutting her off. Then they begin their gobbledygook. "We failed to foresee a few things and we allowed things to drift along under their own control"; "We have to head the masses, comrades!"; "In an atmosphere of high labor upsurge, the entire kolkhoz is broadening..."

You will agree that the author has skillfully portrayed the gap not only between word and deed, but also between word and word. It is a situation that is also rather typical of many social-science collectives.

Socialism was born as the negation of capitalism, exploitation, and bourgeois morality. The new society, by virtue of this, appeared as some kind romantically ideal society that was devoid of flaws and contradictions, and as far as calamities and imperfections are concerned, they could be summarized as notorious survivals. If only everything was that simple. The obviousness of the advantages of socialism gave rise to the illusion that it is immune to the appearance of negative tendencies, to the effect of the petty bourgeois way of thinking. The objective laws of socialism were frequently interpreted outside the context of world development. To a large extent the forecasts of the development of the capitalist system, the limits of its viability, and its survival reserves, also proved to be simplified.

It is true that the objective conditions of our existence -- both the internal and the external ones -- throughout the greater part of the past 70 years were difficult, and even exceptionally difficult. It often happened that we were faced with the question of the fate of the revolution, socialism, and the state. Those conditions not simple today either. And there is no cloudless abundance ahead of us, waiting for us: the resolution of one set of questions gives rise to other, more complicated ones. Consequently, it is necessary to foresee them, to prepare ahead of time for the new situations in life.

A requirement that is invariably of vital importance -- and in the situation that has developed, this is especially true -- is the Leninist requirement of the integral, comprehensive approach to the analysis of the interaction among the various aspects of social life. We have in mind an approach that would take into consideration the complicated interrelationship between the productive forces and the production relations, between the base and the superstructure, between policy and economics, between centralism and democracy, between personal and public interests, between ideology and the material conditions of life, between the psychological and moral elements, etc.

V. I. Lenin wrote concerning K. Marx's "Capital," that that book "has shown the reader the entire capitalist social formation as a living one, with its everyday aspects, with the factual social manifestation of the class antagonism that is inherent in the production relations, with the bourgeois political superstructure that preserves the dominance of the capitalist class, with the bourgeois ideas of freedom, equality, etc., with bourgeois family relations" (4). The art of the integral analysis is also typical in full measure of the works of V. I. Lenin.

We are lacking in this kind of comprehensive approach when analyzing our society. Is it possible, for example, to substantiate the need for changes in the organizational forms of administering production or to create an effective mechanism of acceleration if one has not subjected to critical consideration the productive forces and production relations in their present form? Without a thorough analysis of political development, of the ideological realities, or of the human factor?

The comprehensive, systems-type analysis of reality evolves organically from the very nature of Marxism-Leninism as a single and integral theory. Somehow it has turned out that among us Marxism-Leninism, and its problem areas, by virtue of custom, have been studied and elaborated, as a rule, in a disconnected manner, within the framework of each of its component parts. In and of itself, this is correct. But warpings also occur -- Marxism-Leninism as a whole remains without the proper consideration. There is no such thing as "branch" Marxism-Leninism. The certain isolation in the research of its component parts has become hypertrophied, unproductive.

Hence the need for the corresponding orientation of research. This is also necessary for the formation of a scientific political philosophy among the broad masses of the workers. But at present, when there arises the need to become acquainted with Marxism-Leninism as a whole, it is impossible to find in the libraries a single worthwhile modern textbook. On the basis of the results of the All-Union Contest for the creation of the textbook "Osnovy marksizma-leninizma" [Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism] for the party-training system, not a single one of the submitted manuscripts was awarded even an honorable-mention prize.

It would seem that it is necessary to proceed to the systems approach, to the general philosophical interpretation of reality, fully armed with modern analysis. At the present time it is especially necessary to have breakthroughs to fundamental generalizations, and the development of an integral view of the world in the completeness of its real contradictions and determining tendencies.

But this approach does not contradict the persistent need to assure that the social research proper -- sociological, sociopsychological, and in the humanities -- finds the most careful attention. Socialism is primarily man in his real ties with society, with other people, with the material and spiritual spheres. Movement toward communism is primarily the improvement of social relations, but obviously on the corresponding material and spiritual base. Theoretical consciousness has been called upon to see and to reflect not only the depth of those processes, but also the most complicated dialectics of the interrelationships between consciousness and practice, and the natural regularities underlying the development of consciousness itself -- both scientific and everyday.

Further development is extremely necessary in social sciences for the principle of historicism. A rather large number of miscalculations could have been avoided if, not only in words, but also in deed, the structures of our society had been viewed as dynamic, developing ones, rather than frozen ones.

It is necessary to emphasize: we are not talking about the latest in a series of situational prescriptions to rewrite anew the history of society, the state, and the party. That has already occurred, and everyone knows the result. We are talking about something else: the need to see, to interpret, to analyze what we have experienced, in all its completeness, as a whole, in its dialectics and its contradictory nature. The need to see the entire complex of cause and effect relationships, whether they be in the economy, in the social, political, and other spheres, and also among them. The historicism of the scientific, professional thought processes is the most effective guarantee against artificial "shop" barriers in the social sciences.

Theoretical work cannot lose sight of such a fundamental factor as the nonaxiomatic nature of social knowledge. It is dictated by several circumstances. Society itself -- the object of social cognition -- is in constant movement, in constant development. It is also linked with the capability of man, of classes and groups, and society as a whole to accumulate, generalize, and use experience. All the cognitional activity of people is based on this capability; but it also has another facet. In a more complicated and more developed society, in one that has been formed more, the forms of organizing its vital activities must also be appropriate. But if negative phenomena arise and are preserved in society for a sufficiently long period of time, they can accumulate "their own experience" and can give rise to tendencies that are capable, in their turn, of distorting the social relations, or a particular part of them.

The restructuring poses not only in a practical way but also from the theoretical point of view the task of renewing socialism as a whole, qualitatively, rather than simply the improvement of its separate aspects, spheres, and facets. Obviously, the former does not preclude, but rather presupposes the latter. But the idea of the new qualitative condition of socialist society gives rise to the understanding of the problem of creation as that dialectically contradictory process of people's activity in which what develops is not only the form, but also the very essence of socialism. This was noted long ago by V. I. Lenin, when he stated, "...it is not only phenomena that are transitory, mobile, fluid, and separated only by conventional facets, but also the essence of things" (5).

III

Restructuring with the scope of the current restructuring inevitably invades the sphere of the fundamental questions of the political economy of socialism, and requires their consideration as applicable to the conditions of the present-day stage of the development of social production. Let us discuss first of all the nature of the contradictions under socialism.

Experience shows us that, for the successful carrying out of a fundamental economic reform, it is insufficient simply to choose pragmatic decisions, regardless of how efficient they seem to be, in and of themselves.

The contradiction between the productive forces and their social form -- production relations -- moves and improves the social-labor activity of

people, gives rise to revolutions, and accelerates progress. This contradiction is the leading one in application to any formation that is known to us, to every historical stage that has been experienced. But at the same time, in order to subject it to thorough research in socialist society, people have begun asserting dogmatically that, under socialism, the basic contradiction exists between the "visible outcroppings of communism" and the "survivals of capitalism."

Persons with that dogmatic view have included among the "survivals" everything that limited the omnipotence of the red-tape, bureaucratic management methods: kolkhoz-cooperative property, the private plot, individual-labor activity, commodity production, commodity-monetary relations, the market, and the parity of centralism and independence. They were not embarrassed by the fact that the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism by no means rejected any of this as applicable to socialism.

It was felt parenthetically that the poles of the universal, global contradiction between the productive forces and the production relations were antagonism and nonantagonism. And between them there was a tremendous number of direct ties and feedback: within the productive forces, within the social relations, and between the productive forces and the social relations.

V. I. Lenin distinguished the formal and real achievements in the development of socialist society, including the most general, the most fundamental processes. We might recall how he emphasized the fundamental difference between the formally legal socialist collectivization and actual collectivization. Continuing this Leninist tradition, we will have to achieve a really planned nature in the development of production, real centralism and real democratism in the administration of the economy.

It would seem that we can be satisfied with the fact that, during the decades of socialist management, we have seen the creation of a well-developed system of state plans, that the planned nature and democratic centralism have been supported by laws and institutionally.

But there are also other criteria for evaluating the true state of affairs. The real degree of planning is measured by the extent of reliability with which it is possible to maintain and regulate the proportionality. Real centralism is measured by the degree to which the economic processes are subordinated to the economic center. Real democratism of management is measured not simply by the granting of rights to the labor collectives, but by the creation of the necessary socioeconomic and political conditions for the actual use of those rights for allowing the enterprise collectives to carry out their initiative in the interests of society. Otherwise those rights can also have a reverse effect.

The beginning of the formation of the inhibiting mechanism is linked, obviously, with those causes, and they gradually led (starting in the 1930's) to a certain displacement of the correlation of the objective conditions and the practical actions to the advantage of the latter. The extensive path of the development of the economy was, at one time, objectively conditioned, corresponded to the tasks of the time, and yielded results which, for the

conditions and tasks of that period, were considerable. But that very path, and the methods of administration, planning, distribution, etc. that were linked with it, became objectively an inhibitor on the development to the next higher level, when the qualitative factors began to emerge into the foreground, when there arose a need for a changeover to the intensive forms of management. But the inertia of the thought processes and practice proved to be too obstinate, and the efforts to overcome that inertia were obviously insufficient. As a consequence, during recent decades we have seen the objective formation of a system, essentially speaking, of undermining the material foundations of socialism -- the "cost is no object" attitude in the economy. The causes of this must be sought not on the surface, not in individual economic mistakes, but deep down in the social existence, in the genesis of the stagnation.

In the base sphere, the factor that became this first cause was, practically speaking, the dogmatic absolutization of state property, the equating of it to the highest form of property -- social. Actually this turned out to be the primacy of administration by injunction, the expansion of the space for the omnipotence of bureaucratism.

Bureaucratism requires dogmatism, and vice versa. Both the bureaucrats and the dogmatists can exist only by infringing on the interests of society, by using for that purpose the fact that they belong to the state apparatus, if it is endowed with functions of an all-powerful nature. Hence the striving to establish state control over absolutely everything, to link any successes or achievements with injunctive methods of administration as being the best or optimal methods.

The concentration of attention on abstract judgments concerning the advantages of the state form of property, as compared with the kolkhoz-cooperative form, did not correspond in any way to the true awareness of the mechanism of economic life. Dogmatism, by constraining life, dragged the cooperative system literally by the ears into the state, and man's natural striving to live in a well-provided manner was declared to be a "survival of capitalism." Hence the universal stereotype of the attitude to state property: what is ours is not mine, but somebody else's. Hence the misfortunes, the indifference, the mismanagement, although, of course, this was not the only cause. But it is only the cooperative system, in our opinion, that currently can assume the functions which it is not mandatory for the state to fulfill, and thus to contribute to normalization and to the effective functioning of the socialist market, and, jointly with the state, to reinforce the ruble.

Marxism always proceeded from the view that, under socialism, public ownership -- in all its forms -- is united. The intelligent proportions among its component parts can be established only by the new life. Artificially created anomalous proportions in nationwide ownership are the generator of an entire complex of contradictions which, under other conditions, could be expressed "more mildly" or be completely absent.

According to Marx, changes in the foundations of the social system are necessary "in order to convert social production into a single, extensive, and harmonious system of free collective labor..." (6). Lenin wrote that

socialism is a "system of civilized persons engaged in collective effort," and that this is "collective effort to the entire population, to a man." And "this will require an entire historical era" (7).

K. Marx emphasized that not a single form disappears until it exhausts its capabilities. If the family contract guarantees double or triple productivity as compared with other forms of organizing labor, then how can one consider it to be a historically obsolete form that has been exhausted in the structure of socialist production? If individual-labor activity can be profitable, why is it necessary to erect ideological or practical obstacles to prevent its development? It is necessary to adhere strictly to only one limitation: one must not allow exploitation. The reinforcement of socialism actually must be viewed as the chief task, and all efforts must be subordinated to this task. This would also be helped by the unprejudiced reinterpretation of the essential characteristics of the complicated series of fundamental, base economic relations in their variety and dynamics.

One of the most critical contradictions at the present stage of the restructuring is the contradiction between the quantity and quality of labor. Economic practice continues to orient itself on the priority of quantity, whereas the requirement of the time is the optimal combination both of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of growth. Underestimation of the latter in past practice only intensifies the already high need that society has to assure that, at the present stage in our development, its qualitative aspects enjoy everywhere and in all respects the priority attention. The cult of improving only the quantitative rates, and the fear of waiving the gross indicators, make it impossible to achieve any new quality in growth. The essence of the "quantity strategy" is production on a "cost is no object" basis, production based on shortages and inflation. The "cost is no object" attitude in economics, in the base, naturally has shifted also into other spheres of social life. How and why did we change over to the "cost is no object" management method? It is necessary to study and understand this. Not in any instance the breaking down of the "cost is no object" mechanism, the replacement of that mechanism with a fundamentally new cost-accounting mechanism that is adequate to the nature of developing socialism is the supertask of the restructuring.

From the philosophical point of view, the "cost is no object" approach is a subjective inhibitor to the objective transition of quantity to quality, and is the priority of the former over the latter; it is the megatonnage of dogmatism, the lack of understanding of the dialectical essence of contradictions and their nonacceptance; it is thinking in categories of social indifference.

From the economic point of view, the "cost is no object" approach is the minimal final result with the maximum intermediate expenses, the increasing aggravation of the contradictions between the productive forces and the production relations, the anarchy of the former and the bureaucratization of the latter, the preserving of scientific-technical backwardness, and the path to stagnation. The diktat of the producer constantly generates the "cost is no object" mentality, and the farther this process goes, the uglier the form it assumes; it rejects cost accounting, lies outside of common sense, and

gives rise to a reflex attitude toward the consumer as being not an interested partner, but as a tiresome fellow-traveler.

From the ideological point of view, the "cost is no object" approach is the constant striving to engage in wishful thinking, it is pomposity, outward show, commotion, the forcing of ovations to the point of being thunderous and the disparagement of criticism to the point of being a whisper; it is the interminable issuing of dogmas and the inhibiting of fresh ideas and a creative search. It is the consigning to oblivion of the fact that, under socialism, economics cannot be separated from such concepts as morality, honesty, decency -- whether in labor, in reporting, or in the distribution of blessings.

Let us take yet another group of profound contradictions -- the contradictions in labor itself. Marx expressed the following idea: "There is no way that society will be able to reach a state of equilibrium until it begins to rotate around the sun of labor" (8). Labor is the only deity to which our teachers bowed. The disparagement or insulting of labor is sacrilege. Life punishes people for that, and punishes severely.

Developing socialism does not eliminate the division of labor into abstract and concrete. But a primordially false postulate has proven to be introduced into social awareness and into practice: the postulate that the lack of private property, and even simply the state plan, predetermine that every kind of labor (from useful through harmful; from impeccable to hack work) is directly social and necessary.

This godma objectively is one of the catalysts of the "cost is no object" approach. The wages are leveled off to pay the same for every kind of labor; figure-padding, falsification, and deception flourish; the national income is distributed in an arbitrary and criminally organized manner; the morality and ethics of labor are undermined; and there is a reduction in the efficiency of labor. Payment based on labor exists actually only in words. This debases labor and the laborers, and undermines labor and social motivation.

Simultaneously labor has proven to be divided into productive in the material sphere and unproductive in others. Hence the "residual" principle of investments in the social infrastructure, technocratism, and the underestimation of the human factor. Hence also the material, moral detriment to the status of the most skillful and most necessary labor under conditions of the NTR [scientific-technical revolution] -- the labor of the physician, teacher, engineer, and scientist. Hence also the disparagement of the social status of knowledge, of true professionalism.

What is considered to be a distinguishing feature of the nonproductive sphere is the fact that its "product" is not a commodity. At the present time, higher and vocational-technical education is changing over to the contract system of personnel training. In this sphere we are seeing the introduction of the categories of cost accounting, self-support [samookupayemost], and profit. Are we really to believe that, under these conditions, the product of their activity does not take on the nature of a commodity? It is not manpower as such, but the totality of knowledge, abilities, and practical skills that

have been transferred to the worker, that have been invested in him. Are we really to believe that personnel training is not an objective part of the technological preparation of production?

Do we not have here, then, the object for the reinterpretation of certain concepts? Or do we mobilize all our casuistry to prove that this kind of "commodity" does not possess consumer value, that what we have here is a completely different nature of categories, and that, in general, cost accounting in the formation contradicts the classic principles?

The "cost is no object" method of management, a method that gives rise to irresponsibility, also shakes loose the moral content of labor, and this cannot fail to have an effect upon the attitude that is taken toward it by some of the working class and the peasantry, the intellectual class, and especially the young people. Labor inefficiency is distressing. Low labor efficiency is just as much our fault as it is our misfortune. We have not developed a system of exerting an effect on a person either by shame or by the ruble. The problem of efficiency and of the motivation of labor currently is taking on new meaning, insofar as, under conditions of self-financing, self-support, and self-government, the criteria of labor relations are inevitably transformed.

Moreover, this is important not only for practice. There is justification for assuming that it is precisely here, at the most vital and most acute juncture of the economic and the social, the material and the spiritual, the personal and the public, at this intersection of vitally important and relatively unstudied problems, that one can expect the most serious methodological breakthrough of all our social sciences as a whole. A breakthrough that will become possible if man, in the real system of his social ties and relations, is actually put into the center of the research.

One of the Leninist mandates is "learn how to trade." It will be necessary to break the colossally strong psychological barrier. "Trade," "the market," and "profit" -- those concepts have been driven into our consciousness literally with dogmatic nails as the direct opposites of social management. No one has yet proven that K. Marx's theory of value is obsolete. No one has proven that Leninist cost accounting, or the Leninist understanding of trade, are obsolete. Nevertheless, all this has apparently been "abolished," and the decision has been made to outgallop time.

The market categories have been attached exclusively to capitalism, to "market socialism," and it has been made a bugbear that is intended to intimidate people with the fear of being accused of ideological instability. But the socialist market qualitatively, in its essence, differs from the capitalist market. All the profit from it is the people's profit, it belongs to the people and is distributed according to labor. It is precisely profit, rather than deceptive figure-padding. That profit is earned by and distributed to the workers and kolkhoz members. It is earned honestly, and it is distributed justly. Are we really to believe that this is antisocialist?

In general, the field for scientific and scientific-enlightenment activity here is tremendous. In many respects it is a field that has not yet been even

touched. But without the movement of theory here, it is difficult to count on any serious changes in practice.

IV

The tasks posed by the 27th congress make considerably important the questions of the development of public awareness, that inexhaustible source of social energy. That awareness is seen in two interrelated directions. First, on the path of improving the "quality of awareness," the raising of it to a new level of scientific strictness, and the formation also of overall culture, knowledgeability, and horizon. Secondly, by means of the conversion of knowledge into convictions, and convictions into people's acts and actions. The place and role of the social sciences here are special ones.

The reinforcement of the public economy and the social infrastructure, socialist democracy, and the educational sphere represent a single group of problems that require breadth in the way that they are theoretically posed, as well as purposefulness and competency in practical matters.

The restructuring poses major problems for philosophical science. The isolation from reality in this regard has received an unusual methodological and theoretical "substantiation." This tendency was expressed in an especially distinct manner in the distorted interpretation of Lenin's theory of the cognition of truth -- from live contemplation to abstract thought, and from abstract thought to practice. From Lenin's theoretical principles, practically speaking, there has been removed that part which indicated the necessity for the constant reference to the real-life object. All this turned out to be infatuation with abstract judgments, with mental games in the sphere of pure thought.

At the same time, another tendency has been noticed -- the slipping toward empiricism, to bare description. We have seen the publication of a rather large number of works by philosophers, as well as other social scientists, which have communicated the observed facts, about various events, without their theoretical generalizations.

Instead of studying the real structure of society, the dynamics of the social-class and intraclass changes, and the complicated and contradictory process of forming the social homogeneity of Soviet society, the authors of the works on scientific communism, philosophy, and sociology ritually mouth only the thesis of that homogeneity. Instead of studying the very complicated process of the formation and education of the socialist individual, those authors engage in scholastic judgments concerning the almost ideal Soviet man. One asks where those authors obtained these stagnant phenomena, these unworthy people, these degenerates who have been infected with consumerism, with the obsession for material things, people who are spiritually empty, and where this careerism, bureaucratism, and indifference came from.

I think that we must be seriously concerned about the fact that our science is lagging behind in the comprehensive study of the problem of man, of the ways to activate the human factor. The acceleration of socioeconomic progress is primarily a question of the increasingly self-interested participation of

millions of workers in all the social reforms, it is a question of assuring that in all areas there is opened up a completely unrestrained expanse for developing the individuality, initiative, and creativity of man as the owner, worker, and citizen. At the present-day stage this approach must become the basis of the thought processes and practical actions. And, as everyone knows, the objective laws are not something separate from people's activity. Rather, they are the laws of their own actions. But this requires thorough philosophical research.

Problems that are taking on very great importance are those that are linked with man's inner world -- it is precisely these questions that are in the center of the most active ideological struggle. Unfortunately, the entire sphere of moral-philosophical problems continues to be a kind of virgin land: when a person begins to think carefully about the "eternal," agonizing problems of the meaning of life and his actions, and the transitory nature of existence, most often he seeks that answer, alas, not from the professional philosophers in the field of ethics.

There is also a large number of gaps in the elaboration of scientific communism, although the discussion of its subject and method, and its laws and categories, began more than a quarter of a century ago. This coincided in time with the preparation and adoption in 1961 of the third CPSU Program. It was at that time that a course of instruction on scientific communism was introduced at institutions of higher learning, and research in that area was expanded. Since that time there have been two nationwide discussions on the subject of scientific communism (in 1965 and in 1971), thousands of articles, pamphlets, and collective and individual monographs have been published, dissertations have been prepared and defended, and a large number of teaching and teaching-methodology aids have been developed.

In a word, a considerable amount of efforts and funds has been expended. And what are the results? Over a period of almost 30 years our scientists have been unable to come to an agreement as to whether scientific communism is a sociopolitical discipline or a philosophical-sociological one. But one ought not to be surprised at the fact that there has been no formal resolution of this very long dispute, since it pertains to formal logic. The many years of activity of hundreds of scientists have been primordially revolving within the confines of "pure" consciousness, and have been reduced to the speculative treatment of various categories, statements made by the classic authors, and individual points of views, some of which at times have been arbitrary ones. The works dealing with scientific communism, as a rule, have been based on secondary information. The authors have kept in their field of vision materials dealing chiefly with the development of ideas and concepts, rather than real processes. On this level the argument can continue infinitely and can continue to be fruitless.

Another situation that continues to remain no less complicated is the situation in sociology. The professional level of many sociological research works is still low, and one sees broad evidence of a bare descriptive approach and a simplified treatment of the questions of social development and public opinion.

One continues to observe indefiniteness relative to the place of sociology in the system of social sciences. Controversy continues to rage concerning the correlation between sociology and historic materialism, and the subject and levels of sociology. The polemic passions that have been expressed over a period of more than 20 years have done nothing to promote the development of concrete sociology. The country lacks a system of sociological service, although a definite amount of experience in the operation of these services has already been accumulated at individual enterprises, in certain regions.

The departure from real life is also manifested in the study of national relations. Mountains of literature have been written on this question. Nevertheless it is precisely in this sphere, probably moreso than in any other one, that a large number of obsolete dogmatic evaluations which are inadequate to practice have been accumulated.

Essentially speaking, there has been no study of the real contradiction that consists in the fact that, as the class differences die away and the overall features of people's way of life and their spiritual outlook obtain their further development, one becomes increasingly aware of the differences of a nonclass nature -- occupational, everyday-cultural, age, and national-linguistic. Their buildup is, actually, the consequence of miscalculations in educational work in a particular republic. But at the same time it is also, probably, a certain regularity which can and must be interpreted and forecast, so that one can take steps in advance to make corrections in the political activity and the plans for social development.

In historical science a rather large number of scientists have been specializing to a considerable extent in unmasking the pseudoscientific concepts of the bourgeois authors, without engaging in any deep research activity of their own, without carrying out an independent study of the sources and elaborating the scientific ideas, without engaging in a critical reinterpretation of obsolete ideas or participating in a creative dialogue with the progressive science abroad.

Vulgar sociologizing has been reborn on a new basis. Certain historians, under the guise of eradicating the treatment of petty topics, propose, in essence, simply the supplementing of the sociological schemes with "historically" formulated factual illustrations.

Nor is the situation completely healthy from the point of view of methodology. This manifests itself chiefly in the fact that a number of historians and literary figures have disregarded the class evaluations of historic events and persons. The striving to prettify the reality of prerevolutionary Russia and the other republics has become especially intensified during the past two decades.

People say in justification that this is necessary in order to combat bourgeois historiography, which criticizes not only the history of Soviet society, but also the past of the peoples of Russia. But what is needed in this struggle also is truth and objectivity, rather than the dashing around from one extreme to another. The nationalistic epidemics are sometimes covered over by pseudopatriotic exclamations. But it is obvious, if one

stands on the soil of Leninism, that the patriotism of Lenin, that most noble son of Russia, and the patriotism, for example, of Stolypin, who obviously was the most talented official under the autocracy, are diametrically opposed -- it is a class chasm not only between people, but also between worlds. One could give a large number of similar comparisons.

In recent years one has heard, sometimes in an undertone and other times quite clearly, criticism about the revolution and the Soviet authority for their allegedly destructive policy with respect to the national cultures. That is opposed by a policy of religions as allegedly the zealous preservers of cultural values. In the underlying text of such judgments one can always discern the idea that precisely the class, socialist approach, and proletarian internationalism, which proved in practical life to be the reason for the impoverishment of the national cultures.

All this is political speculation on lack of knowledge, on ignorance, as well as the direct result of the fact that the demagoguery that repeats anti-Soviet fables and provocations has not been receiving a broad, well-argued rebuff on the part of scientific criticism, which has been called upon to defend historical truth.

The RAPP [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers] extremes of ardent administrators, like the indifference that one still encounters with respect to the monuments of the past, whether that be in the 1920's or the 1980's, do not cancel the indisputable fact that, since the very first years of the Soviet authority, it was precisely the party that conducted, and continues to conduct, a line aimed at the preservation, resurrection, and broad use of the values of the past. Obviously, a rather large amount of work lies ahead of us.

Another question is how should we use this heritage correctly for purposes of the historical truth?

Should we arouse and support religiosity, or, conversely, a scientific view of the world? Should we extol the church, the tsars, and the exploiter classes, or, conversely, in conformity with the truth, educate in people respect for the nation's past, for its creativity, and its great esthetic creations? Should we poeticize that which was reactionary in the culture of the past, and disparage that which was progressive, or see our pedigree in love of freedom? Or, finally, should we oppose national character to party spirit, that which is national to that which is international, and "the tradition of deep antiquity" to socialism? No, the concept of a "single stream" cannot serve the cause of patriotic education, since it displaces evaluates in the direction away from class, national, revolutionary interests. And it is time for our Marxist historians to say their firm word with regard to this problem.

The approximately 1000-year period of Christianity in ancient Russia gives special significance to all these questions. It is understandable that the adoption of Christianity promoted the ties between Kievan Russia with the centers of civilization at that time, and primarily those in the cultural sphere and political life. During that period of history, as well as during certain other periods, especially before the beginning of the publishing of

books, the church played a definite enlightening role, and there is no justification for disparaging that fact.

But, as the expression goes, give to God what is God's, give the church what belongs to the church, and give us Marxists the completeness of truth. And from those positions we must decisively reject any attempts to depict Christianity as the "mother" of Russian culture. Prince Vladimir invited Christianity not into the cave of a primeval tribe, but into a completely formed state that already possessed a distinctive culture, various forms of social life, and rather broad interrelationships with the surrounding countries. And if the subsequent Russian Middle Ages deserve the historians' attention, it is by no means only in connection with the thousandth anniversary of the Orthodox religion.

Party-history science is facing serious problems. Despite the large number of specialists in the history of the CPSU and Soviet society, no research has been conducted on many very important questions that are of primary importance.

Take, for example, such a question as the study of the Soviet experience in economic building. When, thanks to what decisions, and by virtue of what reasons did the departure from the New Economic Policy begin in the 1920's? How did crudely administrative, bureaucratic methods of management receive their citizenship rights and take on greater force? Did any alternatives to that exist, and, if so, why did they remain unrealized? And would it not have been worthwhile for historians, economists, and jurists to engage in joint research on the institution of missed profit that existed at that time, an institution which was, in its way, an effective mechanism for exerting a legal influence upon those who were hindering the introduction of advanced experience and scientific-technical achievements?

Recently there has been an increase in the criticism directed at the party historians for their extremely serious transgressions against the truth. The violation of the principle of historicism, the depersonalization of the historical process, the unexplored areas on the space of entire periods, sketchiness and colorless exposition -- these are only a few of the just reproaches that have been made. It will be necessary to take a new approach to the illumination of many important and complicated periods in the party's history, extracting the necessary lessons from each, and adhering strictly to the principle of historicism, the principle of truth. In the specific circumstance of restructuring, a thorough knowledge of the past is an invaluable help for the present.

V

When carrying out the changes in society whose time has come, the party proceeds from the persistent necessity and urgency of democratizing social life as a whole, of conforming in the image of the thoughts and actions of every citizen a democratic understanding and sensation of the world.

Democracy is a very important -- or, rather, it is even the only possible -- method of the existence of socialism as a social system, as a social organism.

The socioeconomic essence of socialism is by no means reduced by Marxism to simply the socialization of the means of production. Socialized production emerges as truly socialist only when the workers themselves actually play a decisive role in administering production and other social affairs, only if the collectives themselves resolve the vitally important questions of economic and social development.

Individualism is the alpha and omega of the bourgeois understanding of rights and freedoms, an understanding that is wholly and completely based on relations of economically isolated subjects. The rights of the individual property owner here, naturally, are in the foreground. Bourgeois law equates the individuals legally, but it cannot, and does not, give itself the task of overcoming the economic inequality that is inevitably inherent to capitalism, an inequality that produces all other forms of inequality: social, political, national, cultural, etc.

Socialism destroys economic inequality, supplementing the liberation of the workers with the recognition of absolutely every form of equality in the law, by the confirmation of it in practical life. The social guarantees, political freedoms, and legal rights of the citizen in socialist society are incomparably broader. They are guaranteed by the real gains of the new system. It is, however, obvious that their practical completion is not something that has been established once and for all, something that is frozen. It is a derivative of the entire series of real historical conditions -- objective and subjective. Man is for socialism the highest value -- not only in the overall plan, but also in the most concrete, most individual way. This is the meaning of the present-day stage in the development of socialist democracy, and this is what the social and cultural policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is aimed at today.

Democratization is that facet of the modern life of Soviet society which evokes careful, self-interested attention throughout the world. Some people welcome the course aimed at openness, and at criticism and self-criticism, seeing in it the successive movement of socialism, its more complete humanitarian self-implementation. Others, who would like to see socialist democracy modeled after and in the likeness of bourgeois democracy, cherish the hope of the rebirth of society. Still others discuss the "perniciousness" of self-governing, the fact that the nation is "unprepared," and the "danger" of democratization in general.

The reason for these interpretations is understandable. For a long time the real problems of democratization were replaced by the declarative asserting of our advantages; as a result, any thought of the possible reconsideration of the existing norms of social and state life proved to be squeezed out even from the researchers' consciousness, and the term "self-government" was unambiguously linked with revisionism, with a departure from Marxism-Leninism.

What must be said here in a completely definite manner? In democratism, as in any other sphere in the vital activity of society, we must go farther than capitalism by other paths also. We must activate everything that serves socialism; the opportunity for the potential contained in it to reveal itself completely can be provided only through democracy, through its improvement and

development. It is impossible to have victorious socialism that has not carried out complete democracy -- this is the mandate of revolution (5).

Why is democracy, the development of socialist self-government, the leading factor in the restructuring, the central factor of acceleration?

First of all, because this conforms to our absolutely fundamental ideas concerning the essence of socialism. In Lenin's political dictionary, the concepts "democracy," "self-government," and the "live creativity of the masses" are the key ones, especially for judgments about socialism. In a convincing, detailed manner V. I. Lenin substantiated the meaning of democratism, and revealed its essence. The participation of the workers in the discussion of the state laws and plans; the election of their representatives to agencies of authority; the monitoring of these representatives from below; openness, criticism and self-criticism as methods of political leadership; responsibility and conscious discipline; and the equality of all citizens before the law -- those are the Leninist ideas that found reflection in the principles enunciated by the 27th Congress and the January Plenum of the Central Committee.

The restructuring has posed in a special way the questions of socialist democracy also as a result of the need for new approaches to the problem of administration. Without the guaranteeing of the self-interested, daily, efficient participation of the workers, society will not be able to resolve a single one of the tasks that are currently confronting it. Not in economics, not in the social sphere, not in ideology, and not in any other questions. Society will not be able to break down the mechanism of inhibition, to bring the job of restructuring to its completion, to get its "second breath," that is, acceleration.

Wherein, then, in this instance do the tasks of social scientists lie? In assuring that, on the basis of Leninist methodology, people distinguish the formal, legal, and real achievements in the sphere of democracy. In assuring that people evaluate in a Leninist, fearless manner those areas where and those reasons why the principles of socialist democracy proved to be violated or distorted. In proposing dialectically developed organizational, legal, and political methods of guaranteeing increasing complete democracy, which methods are adequate to the present-day stage. In revealing, as precisely as possible, the mechanism that governs the action of democracy as a means of realizing and resolving the contradictions of all kinds that arise at all levels.

It is necessary, first of all, to find forms and incentives for the real participation of people in the development of the absolutely fundamental, as well as current, decisions -- on the scale of the country, society, the collective. The realities that exist in this area are attested to instructively by the practice of applying the Law Governing Labor Collectives. Why is that law actually not working? Which of its legal and political supports have proven to be insufficiently supported by line and what lessons should we derive from this in order to prevent a similar fate from overtaking the Law Governing the State Enterprise? These are the questions for the social scientists to deal with.

The principle that was advanced by the 27th CPSU Congress concerning socialist self-government means the restoration and development of the Leninist thesis of the historical necessity of the gradual transition from authority for the people to authority by the people itself at all stages of the political system of socialism. The party is carrying out an energetic search in this direction. What is critically needed here is the theoretical elaborations over the entire range of democratic development, its effects upon other spheres of life, upon man, upon the formation of the political culture of society and its administrative organizations.

But something that probably requires special attention is the achievement of the new quality of the legal sciences. There exists here a tremendous series of problems -- from the legal support of the economic reform, to the need to introduce major changes into those sections of jurisprudence which form the basis of the economic, political, and social rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens.

The interrelations between legal science and the current political and economic practice continue to be extremely complicated. The striving on the part of various managers to retreat from the resolution of problems that have come to a head, and the efforts to satisfy departmental and local interests, failed to promote self-interestedness in the serious scientific support of the job to be done. The only recommendations by scientists that were used were those that could give quasi-scientific respectability to the decisions being made, even if they were the incorrect ones, and to justify them legally.

There is something else that can and must be said here. The time has come to understand the value of the legal form of social relations, to understand the development of the humanitarian and moral potential of socialist law. Without law, legality, and justice, it is impossible to achieve any social progress, to guarantee the normal functioning of material production and the institutions of political democracy, to establish effective administration, or to encourage the complete development of the individual.

But even in monographs of a generally nature that were published quite recently, in 1986, the authors did not succeed in overcoming the narrowly norm-oriented treatment of the law, which treatment crowds out to the periphery its orientation as a social value. Such important social qualities of the law as the correspondence between the needs and interests of the nation, and faithfulness to the principles of humanitarianism and justice, are hidden behind considerations of desirability from the point of view of political power and state administration.

An idea which, in particular, has not been completely overcome is one that is unacceptable for socialist society -- the idea concerning civil rights as being a blessing "from above." The legal status of citizens, their rights and freedoms, are rooted in the totality of social relations, and the law records and guarantees that which has already formed in real life. The frequently used expression "the state grants rights and freedoms to the citizens" is linked with an ideologically distorted idea of the actual relationship that exists in our society between the individual, society, law, and the state.

But this is not simply a matter of words. The course aimed at the deepening of democracy, at the development of the sovereignty of the people as self-government, requires a fundamental re-examination of everything that is still holding back, and that, under the new conditions, can continue to hold back the real involvement of millions and millions of Soviet citizens in the administration of social affairs and the state.

Or take such a question as socialist enterprise. To what extent does the law guarantee its legal defense? In legal documents and instructional guides one continues to encounter the "presumption of guilt." The law governing individual-labor activity, it would seem, is as yet the only laws that are currently in effect in which the principle that has been made the paramount one is: everything that is not prohibited is permissible. But many people continue to feel: it is not mentioned in the law, it must be prohibited.

Turning law in the direction of common sense, transforming respect for human dignity into an unconditional priority, is today a very important task for legal science and practice. One can also discern another, no less promising, task -- the scientific, including legal, elaboration of the forms needed by society for organizing its activity, that is, a kind of social designing.

VI

The problem of achieving a new qualitative condition in society raises to another level the question of social effectiveness, of its essence and criteria. The problem has several facets.

Communist theory was engendered from the humanitarian, moral unacceptance of a society that was based on private ownership. It was engendered from a denial of the moral of that society, of the principles that predominated in that society with regard to the relations among people. It was born from the rescue effort to make life worthy of man, to elevate man himself in the fight against all kinds of oppression and abasement of human dignity. True humanitarianism is the highest moral credo of communist theory.

It is true that, in the past, provision was not always made in the real-life situation for the conformity of practice to those high ideals. That was hindered by the limited material capabilities, and by the domestic conditions under which it was necessary not simply to live, but to defend the right to existence. Today the situation is fundamentally different.

Man in socialist society has the right to dignified living conditions, to social justice, and to a deciding voice in the resolution of all affairs of the state and society, not only and no so much because he will work better and will become more disciplined and inwardly richer. A person has the right to everything that society can give him at the specific stage in development, by virtue of the fact that he is a person, because the providing of blessings to him is the highest intention of socialism.

But the problem of social effectiveness also has another facet. Over the period of a rather long period of time we thought -- in an apparent or

unspoken form -- in categories of the negation of capitalism and rivalry with it. To an intelligent degree this is true. The problematics of that sphere of theoretical cognition continues today to be an acute and important one. We are talking about something else.

Socialism as a real social system has been developing for a long time on its own basis -- material and social. However, for a number of reasons, the reflection of these shifts in the sphere of theoretical awareness was aimed, to a considerable degree, along the lines of the quantitative comparisons between socialism and capitalism, as though that approach, in and of itself, would make theoretical research unnecessary. The essence of the historical competition between the two systems proved actually to be reduced to the comparison of the production volumes. Not the degree of social blessings offered to man, but, rather, the per-capita production of pig iron, steel, petroleum, and cement began to be offered as the absolutely fundamental successes of socialism. The means of achieving the goal was transformed into a goal in itself, and was firmly established in social awareness as an axiom of economic development.

Rather quickly it became apparent, however, that the purely quantitative competition with capitalism not only does not exhaust the question, but complicates it. There still exist problems of the old society which were resolved long ago in ours. There are sectors in which we first shall have to come up to the level of the capitalist countries, and then to overtake them. For certain other sectors socialism in general, by virtue of its nature, cannot and must not act as a rival of capitalism. Finally, as we know today, socialism also gives rise to its own specific problems.

In other words, the horizon of simply the dispute between the two formations must be expanded. As the material and spiritual potential of Soviet society increases, the questions of the quality of development moved into the foreground. What is the most desirable way to use the new possibilities, and where is the best area for their application? And what qualitative criteria should we use to measure development over the long term?

In general, we proved to be unready, either practically or theoretically, to answer these questions. Obviously, the search for an answer ought to develop the concept of the optimal interaction among all spheres of the vital activity of the social organism. Apparently, it is here that one finds the essence of the problem of social effectiveness.

And in this sense acceleration is one of the most complicated maneuvers in socialist development, a maneuver that requires taking a turn toward strictly scientific social thought processes. Acceleration is not aimed at some kind of urging the economy forward as an end in itself. It is not the artificial prescription to society that it become dynamic. The concept of acceleration is the theoretical expression of the objective requirements of the present-day stage of the development of society, an expression that is aimed at the effective renovation of socialism at all its levels: in the base, in the superstructure, in the social sphere, in social life, in everything. This, then, is the finding of a new quality.

The reciprocal penetration of economics, science, material welfare, people's awareness, and the culture of the masses has currently become so deep that any lagging behind in any of these spheres immediately has an effect upon the others, and disturbs the rhythm of the overall movement. It would seem that all of this is obvious. However, one continues to see people making a fetish out of the principle that broader material opportunities also create more favorable conditions for the financing of the social sphere. In its pure form, this idea, in and of itself, is correct, but when it was elevated to dogma it was converted into an inhibiting factor in understanding a reverse dependency: acceleration, the well thought-out resolution of social questions, is a catalyst for economic development. As we work, so do we live -- that is true. But the reverse is becoming increasingly tangible: as we live, so do we work.

K. Marx said that it was detrimental to reduce the essence of socialist production to the creation of a product, even if that product be a directly socialized one. "Man's production," he emphasized, "as the most integral and universal product of society that is possible" is converted from a condition of production to its essence (9). A statement was made about this in just as decisive and categorical manner by V. I. Lenin: "...the idea of the differentiation of 'sociological' and 'economic' categories, which was expressed by Struve... does not promise anything except the most meaningless and most scholastic game of definition... I really do not understand what sense it makes to observe that distinction! How can there be anything economic that is not social?" (10). Those principles of K. Marx and V. I. Lenin must find adequate reflection in the theory and practice of planning, in the unity of the economic and the social.

The resolution of social tasks requires special mobility and dynamism. Postwar Soviet society changed fundamentally. It is different not only, as the expression goes, in the volumetric view, although the shifts there have been colossal. Changes occurred in human psychology, in man's perception of his life, in his sense of the world. That is why there has been an increase in the importance of the correct evaluation by society of the real measure of social justice, which is organically linked with the concept of the socialist way of life.

VII

Comrades! Mankind is experiencing a crisis that is linked with its survival. The arms race is holding back the development of civilization. The arms race has forced upon us an economic war, the component parts of which are embargo, scientific-technical blockades, and attempts, as Reagan has said, "to keep arming the Bolsheviks until their economic death."

The end of the twentieth century can arbitrarily be called the period of a large number of revolutions -- social, scientific-technical, cultural, psychological, demographic, ecological, etc. In the combination of competition, the confrontation between the two systems, and the growing tendency toward the interdependency of states, one sees the manifestation of the dialectical complexity of present-day world development. That conclusion

by the 27th Congress poses for social scientists questions of a fundamental new nature.

The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that the changes in world development are so essential and all-encompassing that they require a serious re-interpretation, the comprehensive evaluation of all its new factors and tendencies, and the considerable deepening of the theoretical analysis of the modern world in all its variety and its contradictory and integral nature. The need to resolve the problem of survival is arousing in mankind the forces of self-preservation, and creating in the opposing social systems the incentives for interaction, which incentives are commensurate to the imperatives of the nuclear age.

Quite recently in many philosophical and economic research projects, the approach taken to the concept of the world-historical, generic existence of mankind was an approach as though to a kind of high abstraction that does not have any practical application in our socially divided world. But under the new conditions, emphasizing the fundamental difference in the class nature and pointing out the historic confrontation between the two socioeconomic systems, one cannot fail also to take into consideration the very complicated dialects of their interaction.

The dialectical-materialistic vision of the modern era does not accept either the negation of the fundamental opposition between the two currently existing formations and methods of production, or the ignoring of the essential unity of modern mankind, and its overall interests and values.

The concept of a single, interdependent world is also closely linked with the ecological problem. I think that are not yet become aware of the fact that, judged on the basis of its global consequences, the preservation of the current principles pertaining to the use of nature is catastrophic. The development of technical civilization, a development based on principles of the reckless subjugation of nature, has undermined the self-restoring potential of natural complexes. It is precisely we Marxists who are obliged to develop a strategy for saving mankind from the ecological catastrophe which, if tremendous efforts are not forthcoming from the entire world community, is capable of raging, according to certain forecasts, literally for several decades.

But the task is summarized not only as the increasing of expenditures to preserve the natural environment. It is necessary to move up to a higher level of political and ecological culture. From the political point of view, this is peace and cooperation among states on a reliable international basis. From the economic point of view, this is a process of converting the world's economy to technologies that produce no waste products, it is the preservation and cultivation of the natural environment. From the social point of view, it is the intensification of the struggle against the most ancient sworn enemies of man -- hunger, diseases, poverty, and illiteracy. From the philosophical point of view, it is the harmony of the relationship between man and nature, the freeing of man's intelligence and soul of all types of the social evil of the exploiter societies, it is the protection and development of the genuine

achievements of culture, and the prevention of the degradation of that culture.

A new word in the theory of international relations is, essentially speaking, the posing of the question of the formation of a security system which would have at its basis values that pertain to mankind as a whole and large-scale foreign-policy initiatives that are oriented toward the creation of a nuclear-free world.

Life demands an answer to the question concerning the specific content that will go into the security system, concerning the guarantees of its reliability under conditions of a rejection of the reliance upon military means, primarily a rejection of nuclear deterrence, and concerning the practical paths for moving toward security along all routes.

It is necessary to develop a well-extended system of views that are based on the priority of values pertaining to mankind as a whole. That is, that political philosophy which would actually serve the countries as a base for rising above the existing contradictions, when it is a matter of the survival of mankind.

One question that exists is the question is the specific content to go into the concept of trust, openness, and mutual understanding, which concept must arrive to replace suspicion and intimidation. Without the profoundly developed, complete concept of mutual trust, a concept that must intensify the pressure upon the opponents of disarmament, one can scarcely count on the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The formation of an all-encompassing system of international security presupposes the development of preventive diplomacy, which has been called upon to prevent the escalation of the conflicts. These questions require intensive scientific research.

The formation of a demilitarized nuclear-free world requires the elimination of the deeply underlying causes and sources of distrust, tension, and hostility in the modern world. Scientists in the field of international relations must also provide the answer to the question of how to overcome the traditional confrontational approaches in international economic relations. It is necessary to find common landmarks in their development which would conform to the interests of all the countries that are members of the international community. International economic security, in addition to disarmament, must become a reliable support for a world that is free of violence.

Another problem that needs new approaches is the problem of cooperation in the humanities. The spirit of restructuring and of democratization in our home must also be felt fully outside of it. In this regard, new opportunities are opening up for Soviet scientists in the field of international relations for the theoretical elaboration of the question of the moral and spiritual factors of the all-encompassing system of international security.

The concept of the independent world, and the need for cooperation among mankind as a whole, does not reduce by an iota the problem of the ideological conflict between socialism and capitalism. In this sector also we must have a dynamic buildup of knowledge. A special place must be occupied by the struggle against bourgeois ideology. For a long time it has been axiomatic that that struggle is destined to expand and to become more acute. Fighting against bourgeois ideology today means fighting not against the knowledge that has been achieved in the bourgeois world, but against its use.

In other words, we are talking about the enrichment of Marxist thought at a qualitatively new loop in the spiral of world development. We are talking about the incessant renovation and improvement of political philosophy. We might recall Lenin's words in "Materialism and Empiriocriticism": "Engels says outright that 'with every discovery that constitutes an era, even in the area of natural history' (not to mention the history of mankind) materialism inevitably must change its form" (12).

K. Marx, F. Engels, and V. I. Lenin worked an informational field that was gigantic in space and in time, and to the end of their days they studied intensively and responsibly. There was not a single scientific discovery that they did not subject to critical interpretation and inclusion in the system of revolutionary ideas. All one needs to do is to recall the scientific exploit of V. I. Lenin, who philosophically generalized the major turning point in the natural sciences at the beginning of the century. We are obliged to work collectively to develop Marxist-Leninist theory in this same dynamic manner, considering the fact that the volume of information today is doubling every 20 months, as compared with the 50 years during K. Marx's time!

VIII

Let us ask ourselves the question: to what extent is it possible to have a thorough restructuring of social sciences in the spirit of the time, given the organization, the arrangement of research work, and the moral atmosphere that exists in scientific institutions? This is today one of the most acute questions.

We are talking first of all about the development of democracy in science and about scientific ethics. Democracy in science is a curative form of the civilized, rather than forceful, resolution of contradictions. Tolerance and the respect for another person's point of view are by no means equivalent to a loss of one's own position. They are built on a sense of one's own dignity, and respect for that sense in others. They are built on the ability to analyze problems and people. And, consequently, on high moral principle.

Openness is that instrument which society uses to monitor the state of affairs in all spheres of life, including science. If there are no changes here, there will be no fundamental improvements in the content of the work performed by the scientific institutions. There has been an accumulation of too much of everything that cannot fail to alarm us. We cannot tolerate bureaucratic monopoly of the truth, when, in the work of minds, the last word proves to be given to those who occupy a higher official position. Among the management

complement at various levels we still observe a rather large number of "extinguishers" or "wet blankets," as they were called a hundred years ago by D. I. Pisarev when he was unmasking bureaucrats at that time.

It would be too sweeping and unjust to level a wholesale accusation against all managers at various levels of scientific structures. Most of them are honest, highly moral people. Nevertheless, the exerting of official pressure is widespread. There have also been a rather large number of instances of malfeasance. This has appeared in various manifestations -- whether they be superficially enforced coauthorship, the cultivation of scientific time-serving in the midst of one's subordinates, a "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours" atmosphere, indulgence, a lack of exactingness with respect to "our own people," and ostracism of those who are unwelcome.

It is necessary to democratize the very forms of organization of science, to increase the role played by scientific councils, scientific conferences, and discussions, to revive scientific criticism, and to subordinate the authority of one's position to the authority of one's thought processes.

But scientific ethics and behavioral ethics are especially important. It has somehow happened that our social scientists have been divided into two unequal parts. Some work, pose problems, and strive for results. But others at the same keep an attentive eye out, and wait for the other kind to make mistakes or fail. Then they attempt to show that that truth was already known to them from the very beginning.

There is also a category of people who, if they do not agree with something, avoid open discussions and do not defend the truth in a scientific debate. But, firmly convinced only of their own rightness and their faithfulness to socialism, they write letters to the Academy of Sciences, to the Central Committee, and even to law-enforcement agencies, demanding the calling to responsibility of those who are "guilty of making mistakes," and hanging labels and abusive accusations on them. It is necessary in a merciless manner to attract the attention of public opinion to people like this, and to introduce into life the ethics of high scientific and human decency.

Science can develop only in the process of constructive discussions, in the collision of opinions. It would seem that it is not only the already developed forms and procedures, but also the content of scientific discussions, that requires critical interpretation. We need discussions that are engendered by a competition of ideas, by the striving to defend the truth and new knowledge, rather than discussions in which, on the contrary, the truth sinks and dies.

But I would like to emphasize that it is inadmissible to reduce any discussion, any sharp conflict of opinions, to the settling of scores. Unfortunately, we sometimes observe this practice currently in literary criticism. In order to convert scientific discussions into a mechanism of acceleration, it is necessary to be aware that, neither in the asking of new questions or in the providing of answers to them, no one has a monopoly on the truth.

It is time also to renounce the snobbish attitude to recommendations made by nonspecialists. The restructuring has brought to life a political search by millions of Soviet citizens. Their view of the problems frequently carries truly golden grains of truth, freshness, and a uniqueness of approach, that unusual perception of the world which has always presented to mankind unexpected discoveries.

But probably the problem that is becoming the most acute one in the development of the social sciences is the link with life. At the present time, to use Lenin's words, "there has arrived precisely that historical moment when theory is being changed into practice, when it is enlivened by practice, when it is corrected by practice, when it is verified by practice..." (13). A lively cause, a real return on efforts, constitutes at the same time both the result, and the very important guarantee of democratism, openness, and a healthy atmosphere in science itself.

One cannot say that the cooperation between the social sciences and practice has not been developing. But it is indeed time to mention not the specific examples, but the need to include science into the system of nationwide work as a permanent component. It is necessary to introduce broadly the practice of using groups of scientific experts to evaluate technical, economic, and social projects, and to intensify the consultative principles in the activity of scientific collectives. I think that the time has come to give a good working over also to the question of the creation of financially independent consultative centers specializing in administration, social planning, sociological analysis, the ecology, etc. It is also necessary to broaden the opportunities that the scientific potential of the higher school system has in this direction.

The system of planning scientific research requires fundamental restructuring. The entire content of the plans currently can be summarized as the preparation of collective monographs, many of which, when viewed carefully, prove to be not the result of research work, and which frequently do not contain any new information, any new generalizations, or any new conclusions and forecasts. The writing of such works is preceded not by research on the problems, but by the generalizing of secondary materials. Many research projects have not been dictated by social needs. The system that has developed for scientific planning and reporting is an extensive path of accumulating publications. The system diverts tremendous creative and material resources.

The completed conversion of the associates of the USSR Academy of Sciences to the new conditions for the payment of salaries and incentives, and their recertification, despite the slight positive importance, have not yet led to the expected improvement of the cadre complement of the scientific institutions or to the creation of the necessary prerequisites for the renovation of the cadres. During the certification process, practically speaking, the leveling principle has been victorious.

Publishing requires fundamental democratization. The need to revive scientific ethics and openness is extremely acute, first of all, in scientific journals. Phenomena that have become almost the norm there are such things as cliquishness, respect of a person's position, rather than his ideas, and the

lowering of the role and importance of editorial boards and editorial councils.

When judgments are made on the basis of quantitative indicators, by the "gross" method, everything seems to be impressive. Every year our country produces more than 14,000 books and pamphlets, and more than 830 periodicals dealing with political and socioeconomic problems. When expressed in terms of mean-statistical books, this comes to more than 62,000 books a year!

Well, then, what is the per-capita return, per reader, that these annual 50 printer's sheets have? Quantity by no means changes over to quality. The scientific press, for the most part, has not yet introduced into circulation in any real way the theoretical ideas expressed at the congress. There has been a paraphrasing of that which is generally known, new authors are being drawn upon shyly, and one still still sees a timorous attitude to the producing of any seminal works that might arouse sharp discussion.

The journals continue to be replete with complimentary reviews that are written in a kind-hearted, if not panegyric, tone. For the books that were published by the Nauka Publishing House in 1981-1985, more than 1305 reviews were published, of which only two were negative. The publications bearing the imprimatur of IML [Institute of Marxism-Leninism] and AON [Academy of Social Sciences], under CPSU Central Committee, have been removed completely from the zone of criticism. What one observes here is precisely the approach that is so pernicious for science -- the approach when scientific views are made secondary to matters of scientists' official subordination.

The renovation and improvement of the overall atmosphere in the social sciences will also have an unconditional effect in the field of publishing. But it is inadmissible just to wait passively for the changes. Obviously, there is a critical need for cadre changes.

I would like to ask the editors of scientific journals and publications, the editorial and publication councils, and the research institutions: please put your reliance upon people with scientific talent, rather than on people simply on the basis of their reputation, their official position, their ranks, or the authority of their names. Nothing embellishes the printed pages of any publication so much as a new word in science. We are in favor of showing deep respect for the merits of famous scientists, but we really cannot believe that this contradicts the principle of supporting everything that is new and talented, or supporting the person who is working most effectively for science and for practical life, who is advancing Marxist-Leninist social sciences.

The intellectual potential of our social sciences is quite powerful. It is capable of coping with those serious and profound tasks that are advanced by life, the country, and the party. But we must not forget such a very important matter as the training of the new replacements in social sciences over the entire front of knowledge. This training must begin in the very earliest years. But whereas in the field of the natural sciences we already have this kind of system, and that system is operating, on the whole, rather

well, the situation in the sociopolitical sciences and the humanities is, to put it bluntly, dismal.

Clubs for young philosophers, economics, sociologists, jurists, psychologists, and teachers are exceptionally rare. As a consequence, the formation of a student contingent in those specialities is distinguished by all the elements of randomness, the lack of forecasting, and erroneousness. Over the period of many years, there has been a decrease in the postgraduate competition in the sociopolitical sciences, and less than 10 percent of the postgraduates defend their thesis by the deadline.

The people who have gathered here today represent the flourishing of our social scientists, and its entire leadership. Comrades, put the job of training the young cadres under your special, immediate supervision!

Comrades! The course taken by the April Plenum and the 27th Congress, and the decisions of the January Plenum of the Central Committee, have given rise to great hopes and have opened up new prospects. Society has begun moving along all directions. The beginning has been laid. There is no turning back.

Who, if not creative Marxism-Leninism, can and must guarantee a breakthrough into the unknown? Who, if not the social scientists, can and must provide the answer to the very complicated and very responsible questions that our country is facing today? There is no one else who can do this.

FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch." [Completed Collected Works], Vol 11, p 85.

2. Ibid., Vol 1, p 407.

3. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 31, p 134.

4. Ibid., Vol 1, p 139.

5. Ibid., Vol 29, p 227.

6. Marks [Marx], K., and Engels, F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 16, p 199.

7. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 45, pp 372, 373.

8. Marks, K., and Engels, F., "Soch.", ol 18, pp 551-552.

9. See: V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 30, p 128.

10. Marks, K., and Engels, F., "Soch.", Vol 48, Part I, p 386.

11. Lenin, V. I., "Poln. sobr. soch.", Vol 46, p 30.

12. Ibid., Vol 18, p 265.

13. Ibid., Vol 35, p 202.

KIRGHIZ FIRST SECRETARY ADDRESSES PLENUM

Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 12 Apr 87 pp 1, 4-6

[KirTAG report on address by A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee at the 11 April 1987 party plenum in Frunze: "Report of the Buro of the Kirghiz CP Central Committee on the Tasks of the Republic Party Organization in Carrying out the Resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, 'On Restructuring and Party Cadre Policy'"]

[Excerpts] Comrades!

The Central Committee Buro presents for your examination its report on the tasks of the republic party organization in carrying out the resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "On Restructuring and Party Cadre Policy," and also the draft of a comprehensive plan for working with cadres. The collective thinking of the Central Committee members and party activists laid the foundation for the preparation of these documents; they also take into consideration the state of the republic's socio-economic development and the changes which have taken place in the republic since the 27th Party Congress.

During the years of Soviet power, the 70th Anniversary of which will be marked by all progressive people this year, our republic as a part of the fraternal family of the peoples of the USSR was raised to the contemporary level of development of the economy, science and culture. But, Comrades, we are faced with doing incomparably more. This is dictated both by the very dialectic of communist creativity and by the presence of exceptionally acute problems, which have accumulated in recent years in many sectors of socio-economic and ideological work.

The severity of the situation which has come to pass in, for example, the social sphere, is shown by the following data. According to the figures for 1985, we had 11.2 square meters of usable living space per citizen, while the nationwide average was 14.1; provision of children's pre-school institutions amounted to 29.4 and 58 percent, respectively. Goods sold per citizen in our republic amounted to 801 rubles; for the USSR, 1,168 rubles. Domestic services per capital for the republic was 28.8 rubles, and 37.6 rubles for the USSR. We are lagging in the number of doctors, hospital beds, and general-educational schools.

The contrast in per-capita consumption of foodstuffs is especially striking. Thus, in our republic, per-capita consumption of meat and meat products is about 40 kg, while for the country as a whole the figure is 62 kg; milk and dairy products, respectively, are 182 and 325 kg; eggs, 124 and 260 each; and potatoes, 65 and 104 kg.

This situation is largely explained by the fact that ours was a backward region, essentially lacking in industry, skilled workers, specialists and scientific cadres; and by the fact that agriculture was carried on in a primitive manner. All of these were established after the October Revolution. It goes without saying that one must not fail to consider the demographic structure of the populace. But at the same time we must admit that available possibilities have not been fully utilized in the republic. Year in, year out, capital investments allocated for developing the social sphere were not assimilated. The economy was developed to a significant extent on the extensive basis, and was oriented toward bringing additional labor and material resources into production. This had a negative effect on the growth rate of the gross social product, the national income, labor productivity and other indicators of the effectiveness of the national economy. Over the past three five-year plans its profit margin fell by 11 points, and in 1985 amounted to only 18 percent. Even today we continue to receive various products from the state in greater amounts than we provide to the nationwide fund.

We must frankly state that these and other omissions are primarily associated with the fact that the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and many of the leading cadres have not always carried out an in-depth and competent analysis of the state of affairs in the national economy; they have not solved the urgent problems of socio-economic development; and they have failed to sufficiently focus the efforts of the republic ministries and departments and their labor collectives on ensuring high end results.

It must be noted that the restructuring which is underway has given impetus to positive achievements in our republic, to which the totals for 1986 testify. In terms of the main indicators established tasks have been overfulfilled, to include those for growth rate of industrial production and labor productivity. The plan for introducing housing, general educational schools, children's preschool institutions, vocational technical schools and hospitals has been fulfilled. A larger amount of freight has been shipped in public transport, and various additional services rendered to the populace.

In the agrarian sector there was increased production and sale of all kinds of products to the state; production profits increased somewhat, and the number of kolkhozes and sovkhoses operating at a loss was reduced. Delivery of products to the national fund was provided.

However, the positive achievements noted in the national economy have not yet become sufficiently stable. Owing to poor organizational work on the part of the administration and the party and soviet organs of a number of major enterprises and branches, lags were permitted to occur, and in the first quarter, the industrial growth rate did not come up to the level of the previous year. This was properly pointed out to us by the CPSU Central

Committee. Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] did not completely resolve the problem of the planned volume of tobacco sales. Tasks for goods turnover and assimilation of capital investments were not fulfilled, nor was the task for producing goods of the highest quality fulfilled. Deliveries in accordance with contracted obligations are chronically disrupted, as are measures for introducing new technology. This applies especially to Minlegprom [Ministry of Light Industry], Gosagroprom, Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industry]; and to Talas, Osh and Issyk-Kul Oblasts and the city of Frunze.

The failures to fulfill the plan are explained chiefly by the slackening of state discipline among the cadres. A number of enterprises subordinate to the USSR, to light industry and Gosagroprom are not providing the proper degree of acceleration. There are still many labor collectives which are not supporting the task for growth of labor productivity.

It is very difficult to convince our administrators and specialists of the need for cost-cutting management methods. In the national economy as a whole, there is practically no reduction in the material-intensiveness of production, and losses due to shoddy workmanship are high. Last year in industry production costs increased by 16 million rubles; of these almost 80 percent falls to the share of a single factory for initial wool processing in Tokmak. And there was an enterprise subordinate to light industry which was not overburdened with concern for the basis of the plans established for its collective. Gosagroprom, the new proprietor, simply waved off the numerous appeals from the factory. The administrative departments vary, but the approach is the same--irresponsible. And it cost the state 13 million rubles in losses. That is no way to manage.

One of the most important levers for increasing effectiveness is improving the use of the production potential by means of placing branches on two and three-shift operating schedules. The first steps have been taken in the cities of Frunze, Osh and Dzhalsal-Abad. But at certain enterprises they are taking a perfunctory approach, and are limiting themselves to mechanical redistribution of workers among the shifts, and are freeing up neither work places nor capital investments. The main thing--proper yield--is lacking. There have been no noticeable improvements in the investment process. Cadres at the newly-created Gosstroy must seriously improve their work. Capital investments are still being frittered away, and the volume of incomplete construction projects is not being reduced. Production based on one's own resources is slow to develop. The deadlines for putting enterprises into operation are not being met in the construction, food and consumer goods industries. For 1986 as a whole there was a 250-million ruble shortfall in putting fixed assets into operation.

This has a negative effect on the building rates for residential housing and other socio-cultural-domestic projects. In order to provide each family its own apartment in the coming 15 years, we must build almost 35 billion square meters of housing space, which is a little more than twice as much as for the past three five-year plans. The current expansion of the capacities of housing

construction combines and other measures for these ends are altogether insufficient. Therefore, the Council of Ministers must examine and find the solution to this acute problem, and must put it off.

On the whole the situation in industry and especially in capital construction has become tense, and quite a few problems are springing up in connection with the new requirements as well. Therefore, the Central Committee Buro and the government of the republic, and above all Central Committee Secretary Comrade N.I. Semenov, Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers Comrades O.B. Ponomaryev and Ya.Ye. Fisher must delve more deeply into the activities of the republic staffs of the branches, and that of the local party and Soviet organs, and strive for rhythmic completion of plans, increasing work effectiveness, and more complete use of reserves and capabilities. It is time for Central Committee department chiefs, Comrades B.V. Perfilyev, A.A. Rysmendiyeu and V.P. Plakhikh, to come out of their offices and go into the working collectives and party organizations, and give them practical assistance, and eliminate instances of numerous groundless inspections, sessions and meetings.

Comrades! One of the important tasks of restructuring is resolving the problems of the Food Program more rapidly. Agriculture in the republic today, which consists of over 500 kolkhozes and sovkhoses is for the most part staffed with trained supervisory cadres, specialists, and skilled workers and kolkhoz members. On the average basic production funds worth about 10,000 rubles are spent for each worker in the public sector. The farms have at their disposal almost one million hectares of irrigated lands; they are equipped with modern machinery; and they possess a sufficient amount of domesticated livestock. For management and effective coordination of the activities of the agricultural enterprises and the branches which serve them, agro-industrial associations have been formed.

Almost 3,300 primary party organizations are in operation in the countryside; their ranks contain over 81,000 communists. Rayon party committees are in charge of all organizational and political work. Soviet organs and public organizations are doing quite a bit as well. In short, we have at our disposal all the prerequisites for accelerated growth of the volume of agricultural production, and for improving the supply of food products to the public, especially meat and dairy products. It is appropriate to say that in this sector, as stated above, certain positive achievements have been noted.

However, the solid potential which has been established is far from fully used. The fact of the matter is, that in a number of decisive sectors of economic, soviet and party work, weak and incompetent cadres are found, and at times unscrupulous people are found even in responsible posts. This is our major shortcoming, which prevents us from making more rapid progress. Further, certain party committees are not genuinely engaged in preparation, education and training the cadres. The rate of turnover is exceedingly high, and almost one in three economic administrators has been removed for negative reasons. Today one in five sovkhos director or kolkhoz chairman has been working at his post less than one year. A similar situation exists with chief specialists.

In the last two years procurement of coarse and succulent fodder has increased, and their quality has increased as well, which has had a positive effect on the productivity of the animals. Our task is to increase our successes; to take all necessary measures to expand the areas under cultivation with high-protein and high-yield crops; and to strive for maximum output of fodder units from every hectare and in general increase the effectiveness of land use. More energetic actions are needed to preserve and expand the productivity of pastures. The Council of Ministers has prepared and sent to every rayon suggestions on this question. We must take a very serious attitude toward them and offer our own suggestions in order to work out a common program for the future.

The growth rate for raising sheep has hardly increased at all. In terms of structure, the sheep are producing only 10-11 kg of mutton, and the wool sheared from a single sheep fluctuates within the range of 3-3.4 kg, and lamb production per 100 ewes does not exceed 90-95 head. Indicators in Talas and Nalyn Oblasts and in Chuyskiy, Keminskiy and a number of other rayons, are lower than the republic average. The real way to increase the effectiveness of raising sheep is to increase the number of ewes to 60-65 percent in the structure of the herd. And this means more meat and wool. It seems as if this fact has not occurred to Comrades Aliyev and Boykov, and the administrators of the agro-industrial associations in these oblasts and rayons.

In order to supplement meat resources, hog and poultry farming must be developed more intensively, and average daily weight gain at feed lots must be increased. Selection and breeding work requires fundamental restructuring. Responsibility for this rests with the scientists and specialists, while they carry on fruitless conversations and unnecessary arguments.

For the present the republic is forced to import part of its foodstuffs from other regions of the country, although according to calculations, a great deal can be produced locally, and dependency on the state can be given up. We are saying that we can completely supply our own needs for potatoes, vegetables, melons and fruits. We simply have to increase the capacities for processing, storage and sales, while reducing losses to the minimum. It would not even require large expenditures to expand the production of confectionery goods, starch, margarine and other products.

One of the most important tasks of restructuring is to bring about a new way of thinking among the people. Self financing and the collective contract are effective ways to do this. According to reports, 82 percent of all subunits in horticulture and animal husbandry are operating on a self-financing basis, and 77 percent on contract. But is it really normal, when out of 7,816 self-supporting subunits in Gosagroprom, last year more than one-third permitted overconsumption of assets in the amount of 44 million rubles. What kind of self-financing is that?

Comrades! I have dwelt on certain of the main reserves and problem questions in agriculture. There is no doubt that the republic party and soviet organs bear the responsibility for the supervision of this sector. At the same time, we do have solid comrades, who answer for the given sector of work.

For example, Comrade P.M. Khodos, Gosagroprom chairman, had worked for a long time as first deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers. Of course he does a good deal. However, Gosagroprom and Comrade Khodos personally also neglect a great deal--they work too quietly and inefficiently; they have not exercised satisfactory control over carrying out their own decisions, and the decrees of the directive organs. Gosagroprom, Petr Mikhaylovich, to put it bluntly, is not operating systematically; it has not yet defined its strategic directions; it is not specifically involved in providing economic training to the cadres, introducing self-financing, the collective contract and intensive technology, and putting the farms on a profitable basis.

The agricultural and food Industry department of the Central Committee, Comrade Zh. Turdubayev, must operate more enterprisingly and persistently in utilizing reserves and eliminating shortcomings. Above all the department should look into the reasons for the high turnover rate for the administrators of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, put things into the proper order, and render practical assistance to the agricultural departments of the party obkoms and raykoms.

Central Committee Secretary Comrade D.B. Amanbayev must be more persistent and principled in putting the party's agrarian policy into effect; and he must involve himself in the activities of the obkoms, raykoms, and Gosagroprom in managing the agro-industrial complex. Basic attention must be focused on selection and assignment of cadres, and increasing demands and results.

We have many problems in the sphere of services to the public. The material-technical base in the sectors of trade, domestic services, health care, housing and municipal services, and heating and water supply in the cities and populated places.

Complete use of labor resources is very important for us. However, insufficient attention is given to this question by ispolkoms of local soviets, and the administrators of ministries and departments. For example, the government's task for increasing the number of home workers and part-time employees was only half fulfilled at Minbyt [Ministry of Consumer Services]; at Minmestprom [Ministry of Local Industries] by only a third; and at Minlegprom, by only 8.0 percent. Soviet authorities in the cities of Kyzyl-Kiya, Kara-Su, Dzhalal-Abad, Cholpon-Ata, and the regions of the Chuyskaya Valley, are seriously behind in their work.

Under the new conditions of management and restructuring, the responsibility of republic ministries and departments are increased many times over. However, we have not yet managed to strengthen their administrative apparatus with enterprising people, capable of managing things in a new way. Let's take Gosplan, for example. On its staff there are still quite a few officials who lack the depth, knowledge and ability to determine the priority directions. Often the solution of important problems drags on here for a long time. Because of insufficient study, many proposals from Gosplan are not supported by the union-level authorities. Comrade Begaliyev agrees with the criticism, which has been expressed before with respect to Gosplan. But that is not

enough: the restructuring must be demonstrated in deeds; the style and methods of staff work must be changed; and demands on the staff must be increased. Thus far we do not see this.

At the previous Central Committee Plenum we spoke of the fact that the principal criterion in evaluating the cadres, and above all the leading link, must be personal example in solving social and economic questions, and fundamental improvements of matters at one's delegated sector. It is necessary to speak of these things because we still have quite a few administrators who, having come by their knowledge from on high, take it upon themselves to make judgments on this, that and the other, creating an air of competence. But dig a little deeper, and it turns out that the person does not understand his own affairs, is unable and does not know how to work better. In connection with what was said it is appropriate to seriously re-examine the style of work of the deputies of republic departments, Comrades V.M. Sidorov, D. Kalmanov, K.K. Tuganbayev, and E.A. Mambetov. This pertains also to the chief of the Central Statistical Administration, Comrade T.A. Malabekov, as well as certain other supervisory officials.

Comrades! Under the conditions of restructuring the people become the leading character, and consequently activization of the human factor and democratization of society take on paramount significance. "Only through democracy and owing to democracy," it was stressed at the January Central Committee Plenum, "is restructuring itself possible." Herein lies the essence of the transformations being made by the party.

Republic party committees, in implementing these instructions from the Plenum, are taking thorough measures. The life of party organizations and the Soviets is becoming more sanguine and open to the people. Criticism and self-criticism and broad publicity are more and more becoming the everyday norm in the activities of an increasing number of working collectives. The newly-created councils of veterans of war and labor, women's councils, and the society for the struggle for sobriety, are becoming actively involved in public life.

The first experiment in democratization of the process of formation of supervisory cadres has taken place in the republic. By means of public, collective discussion, selections were made for the rector of the Kirghiz State University, the women's pedagogical and agricultural institutes, the director of the Khaydarkan mercury combine and the Kara Balta sugar combine, and the chairman of the Zavety Iliche Kolkhoz in Kantskiy Rayon. This procedure is finding broad support in other collectives as well.

At the same time the organization of the election of leaders is an exceptionally responsible matter, and it must be approached seriously, not taking it to extremes, and not eliminating competition. Unfortunately in some places preparations are poorly made, and the people are given little information on the businesslike, political and moral qualities of the candidates.

As we all know, the democratization of society is inseparably connected with the development of intraparty democracy. The course of realization of the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress, the results of the first half of the

five-year plan, and questions of the further democratization of the life of the party and of our society are to be discussed at the All-Union Party Conference, which was spoken of at the Plenum. However even the reporting and election meetings to be held this year must take place in an atmosphere of exactingness and broad democracy during the elections and the evaluation of the work of secretaries and members of the party buros; and in analyzing the results of the activity of each party organization with respect to restructuring.

Comrades! Under conditions of democratization it becomes exceptionally important to observe Lenin's demand that the work of the election organs and the supervisors be open to everyone, and be conducted in the sight of the masses. As before, the problem of supervision remains critical. Unfortunately we are forced to verify that it is namely that feature that is in a state of neglect, and many decisions by party and soviet organs on important questions are poorly made. And this does not disturb the primary leaders; even those who prepared these documents and who have been commissioned to control them.

Thus, in essence we have failed to carry out the well-known decree of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the development of sheep-raising; the instructions of the party and government on strengthening the social sphere, and on aligning propaganda and agitation with the restructuring and cadre policy, are being carried out slowly in the republic. In this matter the guilty parties are the respective central committee secretaries, and the administrators of the Council of Ministers and other republic organs.

Or here is a fresh example. In December 1986, the Kirghiz Communist Party [CPKi] Central Committee adopted a resolution on negative displays among the young people of the city of Frunze and obliged the party gorkom to strengthen international and patriotic education. The gorkom worked out extensive measures, and it seemed that order would be established. A little over three months has passed, and the buro of the city committee was forced to return to this question anew. Incidents in the city have not stopped. Then when, Comrades Chinaliyev and Tokarev, will the gorkom change from words to deeds, and when will it deal with the party resolutions with the necessary degree of responsibility?

Our concern is that republic party organization should at all times and in all places maintain an of respectful, principled and objective attitude toward the suggestions, requests and complaints of the workers. However, certain people are trying to exploit such attention for speculative, self-serving reasons, or for purposes of smearing someone's reputation.

Thus, former second secretary of the Toktogulskiy party raykom, and now former RAPO [Regional Agro-Industrial Association] department chief as well, one Abytayev, repeatedly fabricated statements in which he distorted well-known negative and proven facts, and repeatedly told all sorts of tales about the former party raykom first secretary and his family.

He never signed his own name to these letters, but acquired the signatures of others by subterfuge, and sent them to the Central Committee, to the KPK

[Party Control Committee] at the CPSU Central Committee, to the USSR People's Control Commission, and to other national and republic organs. As a result dozens of responsible officials occupied themselves with analysis of the intrigues of this anonymous writer, wasting their time and diverting many others from their work.

The renewal and democratization of all spheres of our lives open broad opportunities for free and principled discussion on any question, with any leader. Therefore we must strive to ensure that all communists and non-party persons speak out against existing shortcomings or improper behavior on the part of leaders and citizens, openly, as befits the true masters of our country.

However, Comrades, everything is not in order among us with respect to developing criticism and self-criticism. As before, many speeches consist mainly of statements about oneself, "spiced up" with the new terminology. The speeches still contain references to objective causes and difficulties. And very little personal, constructive criticism directed at the rayon leaders is heard at plenums in Lyaylyakskiy, Panfilovskiy, Sverdlovskiy, Toguz-Torouskiy, and Manasskiy party raykoms. And even at the last Central Committee Plenum, as you recall, certain of the orators were unable to turn from the well-beaten path of economic petitions and self-serving reports.

Today instances of suppression of criticism, which certain immature leaders resort to, are altogether intolerable. They take revenge for principled discussions, play off people against one another, and engage in intrigue. Such an atmosphere was created by the Chief of the Nondepartmental Guard Section at the Tokmak city Internal Affairs Department, Comrade Dzhumayev, with the cooperation of the party buro secretary, Comrade Rayev, with respect to officers who expressed criticism. This was tolerated by Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs Comrade Dznoldoshev and Chief of the Nondepartmental Guard Administration, MVD, Comrade Beysheyev. Measures were taken only after publication of an article in the magazine SOVETSKAYA MILITSIYA.

Suppression of criticism, attempts to settle accounts with those who criticize, and attempts to avoid "embarrassing" people are some of the grossest violations of not only the norms of party life, but also social justice and socialist legality. Party committees must halt such phenomena in the most decisive manner.

In developing criticism and expanding openness, it is proper to support in every way the efforts of the mass information media. We have no forbidden subjects, and no people who are above criticism. But this in turn immeasurably increases the responsibility of press officials. Truthfulness, authenticity, and high objectivity of criticism are the constant demands of the party, which must be carried out undeviatingly. Criticism of shortcomings has nothing whatsoever in common with the so-called "urge to expose" or the pursuit of the sensational. Unfortunately certain press officials forget of this, and heap everything upon the party committees. An example of this is the article, "Who is the Deceiver?" published in November 1986 in the newspaper SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA. The article described the distortion of figures on one of the farms in Issyk-Kulskiy Rayon. Comrade Glasev, author of

the article, without investigating, groundlessly accused Comrade Alibayev, Raykom first secretary, of indulging in deception. Because of the dishonesty of the author, and not only his, the newspaper found itself in an awkward situation, and was forced to publicly offer its apologies.

Comrades! As Comrade Gorbachev stated, the cadre policy which we practice must match the "tasks of restructuring and the necessity for accelerating socio-economic development. In formulating its initial requirements, we must consider both the lessons of the past and those new, large-scale tasks which life poses for us today."

Unquestionably, a significant cadre potential has been established in the republic; the social base for adding to it has expanded; and the educational and cultural level of the workers has risen. But the baggage of the past is clearly inadequate for today--the more so, since, for reasons known to the Central Committee, many administrative posts have been occupied by unsuitable people, who have besmirched themselves with various types of violations and malfeasance in office. At the same time there are quite a few capable, honest comrades, who have been able to find suitable employment.

All of this has given birth to time-serving, to uncertainty and passivity of the cadres; has undermined the authority of the party organs in the eyes of the workers, and their faith in social justice.

The situation which has come to pass dictated the necessity for significant changes, for building up the leadership with fresh forces; with people who are not burdened with the baggage of the negative past; people who are capable of seeing the problems, thinking ahead, and effectively putting into action the line of the April Plenum, and that of the 27th CPSU Congress for restructuring and acceleration.

In the last year-and-a-half, the secretariat has been completely replaced, the make-up of the Central Committee Buro has been renewed, as have 8 out of 15 department heads and half the responsible officials on the Central Committee staff. Eight secretaries and 17 obkom department heads have been replaced, and more than half the first secretaries of the party gorkoms and raykoms. Significant changes took place in the leadership of the Council of Ministers and in a number of ministries and departments. Proceeding from a Leninist conception of cadre policy, we must strive to continue to ensure that the upper echelons of party and state leadership in the republic are open to an influx of new replacements from various branches and spheres of activity.

Measures taken with the help of the CPSU Central Committee to restore a healthy situation in the republic have brought noteworthy results. According to opinions from the localities, definite changes are occurring in the operating style of the Central Committee and other party committees. Lenin's norms for party life and his party leadership principles are now being followed more consistently. But let us ask ourselves point-blank, does the work of our Central Committee set the example for the lower party committees and organizations? Analyzing this question self-critically, I must admit: far from always, and not in everything.

One of the most serious of our shortcomings is underestimating the value of theoretical training and political tempering of the cadres. In this connection decisive changes must be made to the practice of selecting party officials, which was basically by virtue of their strong-willed qualities and their knowledge of the specific features of various branches of industry. Such an approach led to affirmation of a technocratic, "administrative pressure" style in the work of many administrators, and to forgetting party methods of leadership. Becoming deeply involved in managerial questions, assuming functions for which they were unsuited, certain party officials gave less attention to the political problems, and to working with people, which is the most important function of the party.

Comrades! The Plenum pointed out the necessity for overcoming two contradictory trends in cadre policy: the phenomena of stagnation on the one hand, and the high turnover rate, cadre leap-frog, on the other.

It is no secret that certain categories of administrators have been working in one and the same place for along time, without advancing. Many of them work honestly and conscientiously. But experience has shown that a considerable number of them, locked in with the very same questions, have with time lost any feeling for the new, and have learned to live with shortcomings. On the other hand, in some places people are unable to remember their own leaders' names. For example, during the last five-year plan, there were five directors for the Selstroy Trust in Talas Oblast. But the work level of the collective did not improve from this.

The restructuring demands that the party organizations step up the struggle for tight discipline, for solidarity in the ranks, and for creating a mutually-exacting atmosphere. First secretaries of party committees bear heavy responsibility for that. Unfortunately, not all leaders are coping with this task.

In our largest VUZ, the Kirghiz State University, negative phenomena have been piling up for years, such as protectionism, giving priority to local interests, pursuit of the unsuited, and nationalistic manifestations. Academic and educational work was allowed to go adrift. Under these conditions the party committee secretary, Comrade Utirov, did not display the necessary political maturity and adherence to party principles, and took a subservient position. The Leninskiy party raykom, Comrade Kazantsev, and the Frunze gorkom did not give a principled analysis of his activity, and did not publicly acknowledge the true motives for his removal, but quietly transferred him to other duties. The Central Committee Department of Science and Academic Institutions has not played its final role in this case.

Comrades! Taking a lesson from mistakes committed in the past, we must make serious improvements in the entire procedure for selecting leaders. At the same time special attention must be given to study of their moral qualities, such things as modesty in their behavior and in solving personal problems. Many party committees are not yet giving serious attention to this aspect of our affairs.

Here are some characteristic examples. In 1986, more than 900 workers on the nomenklatura of republic party committees, or 4.3 percent of the total, were disciplined by the party for various misuses of their official position, and for violating public and state discipline; 36 were expelled from the party for various breaches. Many of these people considered membership in the CPSU and their supervisory positions a means to achieve their selfish interests, and to receive privileges and advantages.

But after all, someone had to recommend these people, certified their positive characteristics, and approved them! The Central Committee Organizational Department and party committees must develop the practice of personal responsibility among those who characterize and recommend for supervisory positions people with dubious merits and biographies. They must be decisively purged from the party ranks, keeping in mind the words of Lenin, that "The party is the direct, ruling vanguard of the proletariat; it is the leader. Expulsion from the party, and not compulsion, is a specific means for influence, a means for purging and tempering the vanguard."

The activity of the People's Control authorities, Comrade Kandakov, and that of the inspecting staff of Minfin [Ministry of Finance] and other ministries and departments must go beyond the bounds of superficial checks and perfunctory inspections, and must support forestalling violations, eliminating shortcomings, and affirming adherence to principle and social justice in all sectors.

The social make-up of the party officials should be critically analyzed, having in mind the need for promoting upward-mobile people from the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry. As before, there is the urgent problem of promoting women to supervisory work. And we must be bolder in entrusting responsible positions to non-party comrades; to those who in fact demonstrate a high degree of professionalism and organizational ability; those who, by their way of life and their deeds, reaffirm the ideals of socialism and are struggling to improve it.

Comrades! Ours is a multinational republic. This requires increased attention to persistently observing the principles of Lenin's national policy in our work with cadres. However they are often not observed and in particular when formulating the make-up of the supervisory cadres. Distortions have taken place in Osh Oblast, and in the cities of Frunze, Tokmak, Kok-Yangak, and in a number of rayons of the Chuyskaya Valley.

In certain collectives--for example, at the Kirghiz State University, Medical Institute, and Academy of Sciences, there are cases of nepotism and showing preference to family members and people from the same area. Such practices lead to mutual defense, to a group mentality, to nationalistic displays, and--at times--even to disintegration of cadres.

Principled discussion of this was recently held, as is well-known, at a gathering of the republic party aktiv. This question was discussed in all party organizations. Our task is to ensure that the resolutions adopted are carried out: to step up international and patriotic education, anti-religious propaganda, and the struggle with the influence of Islam.

Party committees must more fully take into consideration the national make-up of the populace; decisively eliminate any kind of privileges for persons of certain nationality in promotions to the supervisory level, acceptance to the party or the Komsomol, entry to academic institutions, and in resolving social problems. Special sensitivity, circumspection and adherence to party principles and consistency must be displayed in everything which concerns the development of national attitudes, which detracts from the interests of each nation or nationality or the national feelings of the people; and problems which arise in this sphere must be promptly resolved.

I would like to call your attention to the following question. Among us the overwhelming majority of collectives are multinational; but there is a branch where in general only the Kirghiz work. I have in mind sheep-herding, the leading agricultural sector. Among the 40,000-odd corps of shepherds, there are hardly any representatives of other nationalities at all. This of course places a certain stamp on their way of life. One would think that it would be proper to attract representatives of the other nationalities which dwell in the republic for this rather difficult but honorable profession. They would be guaranteed the necessary amenities: housing would be built, and boarding schools for their children. Cooperative labor, socializing from one's early years, would promote strengthening the friendship of nations, their spiritual and cultural enrichment, the development of internationalism, and the establishment of a reliable cadre potential in this sector.

The starting point, and incidentally the basic unit in the selection of cadres, is the formation of an effective reserve. The first steps in this direction have been taken. Cadre reserves have been examined in the party committees in consideration of current requirements, and groups have been singled out for accelerated and prospective promotion. But it is still early to speak of a well-thought-out system in this work. At this point no genuine trained reserve has been established in most party organizations. Testifying to this are the following facts: for more than four months they have not had a chief of the propaganda and agitation department at the Talas party Obkom; for eight months there has been no president, and for five months no vice-president of the republic Academy of Sciences.

The situation with respect to establishing a reliable reserve in the Osh party Obkom is not favorable. Here as always they prefer to move the very same people around in the nomenklatura circle. And at the same time the oblast administrators are constantly complaining about the shortage of trained cadres. And on the whole, the obkom is committing serious mistakes in its cadre work, as indicated by the reports on inspections which have been made available to the Central Committee. Three times over the past year the Central Committee Buro has given instructions to the Osh party Obkom, and to First Secretary Comrade R.S. Kulmatov personally; specifically--for liberalism and lack of adherence to principle in evaluating the misdemeanors of a number of administrators; however, the obkom is slow to reorganize. Of late the oblast has begun to give up the positions it had won in the economy. Along with other reasons, shortcomings in cadre work have not played the final role in this.

In accordance with the requirements of the January Central Committee Plenum we are faced with seriously improving the entire system of retraining and increasing the skills of the cadres and the reserve. At the same time we must make active use of such proven forms as length of service, conferences with the supervisors and their certification, reaffirmation of personal qualities at meetings of the collectives and party meetings, and inter-regional exchange of cadres. In the last six months, in the staff of the Central Committee alone, 78 young party workers completed their probationary period, and 24 of them have already been promoted to more responsible work.

Comrades! Restructuring and cadre work is the pivotal task of the party and its supervisory organs, and is an everyday, long-term task. And that is why it is especially important to explain to all communists and workers, convincingly and in detail, the necessity for the transformations, and the difficulties and complexity of this process. Otherwise we will not eliminate the negative phenomena, and we shall make no progress in acceleration. An enormous amount of responsibility in this connection is laid on the ideological cadres. It goes without saying that something is being done in the republic; but we must frankly state that the level of this work does not meet the conditions of today.

Special vigilance and competence is required today of the mass information media with respect to the processes taking place. However, our press, TV and radio are still timid in taking notice of the first signs of innovation, and their presentations lack thoughtful analysis in posing the problem. They have not truly disseminated the experience of restructuring, and are not exposing the administrators who say they are for changes, but in fact are working in the old way.

The propaganda and agitation department of the Central Committee and its chief, Comrade Zh. Saadanbekov, have not departed from their habitual approaches; they are chained to the old and outmoded; and at times they strive to preserve at any cost their conservative operating forms and methods.

The new stage of social transformations brings forth responsible tasks for the artistic intelligentsia and all workers in the sphere of culture as well. Summoned to actively enrich the intellectual world of our contemporaries, and to support the ideological and moral growth of the working man, they themselves at times display a lack of class and ideological scruples. We expect works of literature and art which truthfully depict the revolutionary changes taking place in our lives.

Central Committee Secretary Comrade K.M. Moldobayev should delve more deeply into the activities of the ideological and scientific institutions, the academic institutions and creative unions, and should display more demandingness and adherence to principle in selecting and evaluating the work of their administrators. He should spend more time in the localities and in the party organizations, and take an interest in the matters and concerns in which they live; and he should guide the ideological and creative workers to active and enterprising participation in the restructuring; to the end that they devote their talent, energies and inspiration to the cause of the party, and to the perfection of socialism. In a word, he should demonstrate by

personal example how one must struggle with perfunctory work and lack of ideology; and how things must in fact be reorganized.

Comrades! In accelerating the development of the economy and solving social problems; in affirming the principles of democracy, openness, a healthy critical atmosphere, and in educating the people, a large role belongs to the soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organizations and their cadres.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Comrades T.Kh. Koshoyev and K.B. Gusev should strive to raise the authority of the soviet organs, and take a demanding position toward those administrators who are in no hurry to take responsibility on themselves for full-blooded action in the Council which they lead. And yes, they themselves should be more businesslike and enterprising in resolving the problems of improving the supply to the public of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, providing them housing, and developing municipal and domestic services. They must be more objective and aggressive in organizing the struggle with unearned income, drunkenness, narcotics addiction and other negative phenomena. The Councils are obligated to maintain daily control over all spheres of life on their territory.

In contemporary conditions the responsibility of the trade unions is increasing immeasurably. The central unit of the restructuring--is the working collective. It is precisely there that the trade unions must display their potential, and analyze their own capabilities and larger rights anew. It is time to genuinely set about strengthening labor and industrial discipline. Observing discipline means fulfilling production norms and socialist obligations; producing high-quality products; putting up high-quality buildings; preparing well-thought-out documents; cooking tasty meals; studying well and with distinction; and strictly observing public order. He who does not carry out these demands is an undisciplined, dishonest worker. It is only thus and no other way that one must look upon all work connected with strengthening discipline.

It is precisely for this reasons that authoritative people ought to be nominated for trade union work; people who know how the people live, who are capable of organizing concrete matters, and stand up for the interests of the working man and the collective. But it is not infrequent that workers directed to the trade union are those who were unable to cope with their obligations in soviet and economic organs. Such an attitude will no longer be tolerated. On the contrary, matters should be arranged in such a way that the party and soviet apparat will receive replacements at the expense of the workers in trade union organs. Party committees and the Kirgizsovsprof [Kirghiz Trade Union Council] and Comrade E.A. Abakirov himself must take a firm party position on this question.

We often say that the Komsomol is the militant assistant and the reserve of the party. But do we always follow up this premise with specific deeds? Hardly ever. At present 1,700 young people have been relieved of Komsomol work, and two-thirds of them are comprised of communists. We must work with them, teach them and strive to ensure that Komsomol leaders become our genuine reserve.

But if one were to speak frankly, in recent years a less-serious attitude toward the Komsomol and to the needs and problems of young people has taken root among us. The party committees are not delving deeply into their lives; they are responding poorly to the spiritual needs of the young men and women; and they are not supporting their valuable undertakings in labor, in the academic world, and in recreation. Work with young people must be of a questing nature; it must be interesting and familiar to young people; it must be a school for learning internationalism, patriotism, civic responsibility, and faithful defending our Motherland. It is very important to strengthen the ties of mentorship between the Komsomol and military units and border forces, and to show concern about the internationalist troops and their families.

In summarizing the shortcomings in cadre policy and in the course of implementing the restructuring, and in analyzing the negative processes, I would like to say that I as Central Committee first secretary also bear responsibility for them. I understand that an exacting and creative atmosphere in republic party organization depends to a considerable degree on my activity as well. I must display more firmness in resolving cadre, political, ideological, and socio-economic questions, and in organizing control and execution. At times I am apparently too strict with my fellow-workers, but that is only due to the interests of the cause; I will improve my work methods and strive to ensure unified, confident and principled work at the Central Committee secretariat and buro; to complete the work which has been begun; and to achieve the final results through collective efforts.

Comrades! The present year is a jubilee year--the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. In accordance with tradition, the Soviet people, which includes the Kirghiz people, are preparing a fitting greeting for this great holiday. The Appeal of the CPSU Central Committee will give new impetus to the socialist competition which has been unleashed in honor of that important occasion.

The restructuring has brought forth complex tasks, which are truly revolutionary in nature. We must work hard in fulfilling them. We must, as M.S. Gorbachev said, act and act and act--boldly, actively, creatively and competently! And we, as members and candidate members of the Central Committee, and as members of the inspection commission of the CPK1, must be in the vanguard of the struggle to put these instructions from the party into action.

9006

CSO: 1830/591

ROUNDTABLE ON RESTRUCTURING IN NAVOI OBLAST

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 22 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 2,100-word item entitled "Working Creatively is Today's Necessity" which reports on a roundtable organized by the newspaper at which Navoi Oblast party officials and activists discussed the CPSU Central Committee draft plan for restructuring political and economic studies. J. Jonikbekov, second secretary of the Navoi Obkom, spoke about widespread shortcomings on animal husbandry farms and attributed them to a lack of analytical and practical skills on the part of farm leaders and specialists. He stated that the obkom is devoting special attention to selecting cadres with ideological and political maturity and proven ability in economic analysis. The obkom has taken steps to integrate political and economic studies with the state system of professional education and advanced training of cadres. Jonibekov points out that the draft plan specifies that party committee first secretaries will be personally accountable for the ideological and moral tempering of cadres, and party committee branch departments for the economic studies of workers. Up to now, these tasks were the responsibility of political education houses and even of agitprop departments. Jonibekov stressed that party activists must become more involved in political and economic studies, and proposed that the 200 members and candidate members of the obkom each take it upon themselves to sponsor and assist several propagandists or political schools.

The editors of the report state that roundtable participants expressed alarm over the status of komsomol studies. The oblast komsomol committee is indifferent toward this work and does not provide propagandists with the means to make their work effective. Participants also discussed the problem of organizing studies for shepherds in the oblast which includes four large rayons specialized in sheep raising. Formerly, studies were held once a week in these rayons whose centers are isolated and far from the pastures. Currently, as an experiment, farm directors and specialists meet in rayon centers once a month and obtain information on the party's foreign and domestic policies and world events. These officials and specialists then distribute this information to shepherds in pastures on an individual basis. Unfortunately, analysis reveals that this method has not been effective because it is characterized by formalism. Participants emphasized that it would be more productive if raykom secretaries and buro members became involved in this work.

ANDIZHAN OBKOM PLENUM ON RESTRUCTURING WORK WITH CADRES

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 29 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by own correspondent A. Quronboyev entitled "The Objective Criterion is Practical Work" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Andizhan Obkom at which first secretary M.M. Oripjonov and others spoke about tasks in the restructuring process. It was pointed out that party leadership over the oblast economy must be improved. Several party committees and primary party organizations still work in the old way, exert superficial leadership over the economy, and take ineffective action against various people who cling to vestiges of the past and openly impede the work of raising the political and social activism of the people.

Plenum speakers stressed that although the obkom has increased its attention to working with cadres, some of those selected have not repaid this trust and have failed to meet plans. For example, former secretaries of the Andizhan Raykom engaged in nepotism and cronyism in selecting cadres and followed improper procedures in replacing cadres. In the last two years 68 percent of the raykom's nomenclature was replaced, and this and other errors has had a negative effect on fulfillment of plans.

Speakers also pointed out that there has been no progress in elevating women to leadership positions. There are few women among leaders of enterprises and farms, and not any in Kurgantepe Rayon. Only 25 percent of the directors of city and rayon educational departments are women and a similar situation exists in oblast trade and health establishments.

Several speakers stressed the need to create a strong cadre reserve. However, a clear system for selecting candidates for the reserve has not been developed, the opinions of party organizations and labor collectives are not considered when appointing reserve cadres to leadership positions, and many raykoms have neglected work with reserve cadres.

Cases of continued false reporting and state deception were discussed at the plenum. In 1985, R1,138,000 were falsely reported and in 1986 this figure reached R2.1 million. In the last two years over 40 oblast leaders were expelled from the party for filing false reports. Another 12 leaders were fired and expelled from the party for drunkenness, immorality, and corruption. However, several raykoms continue to tolerate the presence of such people in the party.

V.P. Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, also spoke at the plenum.

FERGANA OBKOM PLENUM STRESSES RESTRUCTURING CADRE POLICY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 30 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,300-word article by own correspondent A. Ibodinov entitled "Militancy Must Be Increased" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Fergana Obkom to discuss tasks in the restructuring process. Obkom first secretary Kh. Umarov and others sharply criticized the unsatisfactory work of various leaders who continue to work in the old way in managing the economy and of numerous primary party organizations which do not show

firmness and militancy in eliminating stagnation and backwardness. As a result oblast industry is suffering from declining labor productivity and production volume, agriculture is bogged down in inefficiency and bureaucratism, and capital construction is not keeping pace with the growing need for housing.

Speakers pointed out that the new openness in cadre policy has created conditions for bringing conscientious and candid people into the leadership. However, many changes must be made in this area by the obkom. S. Burkhonov, chief of the oblast internal affairs division, and A. Vavulov, former chief of Fergana City Internal Affairs, were sharply criticized for shortcomings in their work. Nepotism still exists in cadre selection. For example, B. Mustafoqulov, an official of the Rishtan Raykom, admitted A. Khalilov, chief physician of the sector hospital in Beshkapa, into CPSU candidate membership without consulting the primary party organization. I. Makhpiraliyev, Akhunbabayev Rayon Prosecutor, and A. Hamroyev, Uzbekistan Rayon Prosecutor, were relieved of their posts because they could not cope with their duties. Oblast court member T. Boltaboyev was arrested for bribery. Nonetheless, various party organizations are not fighting for the purity of their ranks or the moral purity of their members.

A.S. Ikromov, secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, and V.N. Lavrentyev, an executive of the CPSU Central Committee, also spoke at the plenum.

9439

CSO: 1836/425

UZBEK BROADCAST OFFICIAL DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN FIELD

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 7 May 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,100-word article by G. Yoqubov, deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, entitled "In Harmony with the Age" in which he discusses problems in the field in conjunction with Radio Day. He points out that great concern is being shown to outfit television and radio with modern technology and improve working conditions. A second modern complex has been commissioned at Tashkent Radio and the volume of stereophonic broadcasts has increased. With the completion of the new teletower the quality of national and local transmissions has considerably improved, and Central Asian and Kazakh republic television programs are being aired regularly through Uzbek television. However, cooperation with television and radio performers of fraternal republics and particularly the exchange of television specials and radio programs is poor. Songs that are weak in content and of little educational value still go out over the airwaves. Concerts and other theme shows too frequently consist of old songs of the same type or film strips that have been shown for the last 10 years.

Yoqubov notes that numerous radio and television announcers continue to cling to old practices like reading from prepared texts set in front of them. Steps have been taken to improve the quality and substance of texts, enliven existing programs, and create new ones. However, the superficiality of programs prepared by numerous editorial offices bores listeners. Interviews conducted by radio correspondents or editors are characterized by general or uninteresting responses, and correspondents do not deal with the concerns and opinions of workers. News programs frequently include superficial critical materials. Journalists must improve their knowledge and skills and, most importantly, go out among the people and find out what they are thinking. Radio social correspondents must improve their work with letters, many of which expose ills like bureaucratism, self-interest, and speculation, or support the policies being pursued by the party. In 1986 the state committee's editorial office received 93,249 letters, and in the first four months of this year has received 45,000 letters. Yoqubov states that press organs, television, and radio must actively participate in propagating the revolutionary ideas of restructuring and acceleration.

ALLWORTH'S VIEWS ON UZBEK LITERATURE SLAMMED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 15 May 1987 carries on page 7 a 1,500-word article by Doctor of History Goga Hidoyatov and Candidate of History Ghulom Ahmadjonov entitled "Uzbek Soviet Literature and Anti-Communism" in which they attack the views of Edward Allworth, Professor at Columbia University, as expressed in his 1964 book "Uzbek Literary Politics." According to the authors, Allworth is a representative of the new generation of American Sovietologists which, under the guise of objectivity, pursues anti-Communist goals. Allworth has a firm grasp of Uzbek, has visited the Soviet Union several times, and teaches Uzbek language and special courses on Soviet nationality relations at Columbia University, where the prominent American anti-Communists have gathered. They state that Allworth's conclusions in this book on Uzbek literature are based on various fabrications or information directed against the Soviet Union. For example, Allworth relies on rumors to claim that Khamid Alimdzhonov killed himself in 1944, and calls Soviet literature the product of a bureaucratic society. As his basic source he cites the newspaper NATIONAL TURKESTAN, an organ of nationalist traitors in West Germany.

The authors assert that Allworth's chief purpose is to denigrate Soviet literature and its role in the cultural development of Central Asian peoples, and to distort the CPSU's nationality policy. He writes a lot about nationalist authors like Fitrat and Cholpan as though they are the best representatives of Uzbek literature. However, he does not analyze objectively the realism and populism in the works of progressive writers like Khamza or Alimdzhonov, nor does he write about the importance of Lenin and Leninist principles in the development of Soviet literature. However, any work that denies this importance is illogical, lacking in scientific value, and headed into a blind alley.

According to the authors, Allworth ignores positive trends in Uzbek literature and claims that all social processes since the revolution have been distinguished by conflicts in the relations between local nationalities, basically Uzbeks, and Russians. Evidently, Allworth thinks that the party has pursued a special policy with regard to Uzbek literature and that this literature reflects nothing more than government programs and five-year plans. The authors acknowledge that in the 1930s errors and shortcomings were committed with regard to Uzbek literature and that conflicts emerged. But, this unhealthy situation did not typify the general direction of literature in the 1930s which was concerned with celebrating the people's real victories in socialist construction. The authors state: "The new generation of Uzbek writers absolutely does not select the subject matter for works on the basis of 'directives' from above." They conclude that the book "Uzbek Literary Politics" represents an ideological attack on the Soviet social regime, one whose basic goal is to damage the friendship and internationalist unity of the Soviet peoples and, through subversion, to strike a blow against Communist ideology and Soviet culture.

INDIAN JOURNALIST ENDORSES SOCIALISM IN UZBEKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 7 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,000-word article by Sh. Ghulomov entitled "A Superiority Seen Rather Than Heard" in which he discusses the effect of bourgeois propaganda on foreign visitors to Uzbekistan. He states that bourgeois propaganda is especially intense today as Soviet peoples prepare to celebrate the 70th anniversary of Great October. Radio Liberty has shown particular enthusiasm in its broadcasts on Soviet nationality relations which disseminate such nonsense as the Kremlin's policy is to Russify non-Russian people and the Soviet government was established by force of arms over the national republics. Radio Liberty, Voice of America, the BBC, and Deutsche Welle try to poison the minds of their listeners, but people of the world are gaining a greater understanding of these attempts to villify socialism and hinder the struggle for peace, liberty, and national freedom.

Ghulomov cites the case of the Indian journalist Sirajul Mekrani as an example of the effects of bourgeois propaganda on foreign visitors. As the winner of a contest conducted by Tashkent Radio, Mekrani was apprehensive about taking the trip to Uzbekistan. He said that before he left he was told not to go to the Soviet Union, that there he would be lied to and deceived, and that he would not get to see anything. He also said that bourgeois propaganda claimed that since the revolution there have been no changes for the people living in rural areas. Thus, his guide from the radio took him to various kolkhozes in Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara Oblasts. In a conversation broadcast over Tashkent Radio, Mekrani said that he visited several rural rayons and found that Uzbek villages resemble small cities because they have movie houses, stores, schools, libraries, and generally everything that exists in cities. After several days of his tour Mekrani was completely free of his doubts and when he left said: "Of course I felt there would be attempts to deceive me, so I had my doubts. After coming here and seeing with my own eyes the country of the Soviets not one of my doubts remains. I am convinced that the information spread by bourgeois propaganda about the USSR consists of lies and slander. They are spreading these prevarications against the USSR out of fear of the growing prestige of the Soviet Union throughout the world and the attraction of peoples to socialism."

PUBLICATIONS OF TASHKENT DEPARTMENT OF RADUGA DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 29 May 1987 carries on page 7 a 700-word article by Candidate of History A. Bobokhonov, director of the Tashkent Department of Raduga Publishing House, entitled "In Foreign Languages" in which he states that the department intends to greet the 70th anniversary of Great October with publications in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Dari, Pushtu, and Bengali languages. Although the department has issued a number of works by Lenin and Marx, the translation and publication of artistic works is its basic task. It has met orders from Indian book firms by printing in Urdu dozens of works like Shukshin's "I want to Live," Khamza's "Spring in the East," Yoqubov's "Ulugbek's Treasury," and Aytmatov's "White Ship." Unfortunately, in recent years, the Matbuot Union, which is the largest printing house in the republic, has

stopped printing books in Hindi. Due to this the department must send its Hindi books to the Mozhaisk Printing Combine.

Bobokhonov notes that the requirement for Soviet literature has considerably increased in Afghanistan since the April Revolution. The Tashkent Department has been assigned the publication of books in Dari and Pushtu. It formed an Iran-Afghan section and printed in Dari dozens of works like K. Selikhov's "The Undeclared War." The department also has the task of translating works by progressive Eastern authors into Uzbek. In recent years, these works have included Abdurahman Munif's "The Murder of Mazruk" (Arabic), Buzurg Alavi's "His Eyes" (Iranian), Simin Danishvar's "Story of Shiraz," and others.

Bobokhonov points out that the Iran-Afghan, Arabic, and Hindi sections have a total of 74 specialists, but have had to operate on an annual budget of R100-150,000, which is now a matter of concern. In addition, the department does not have close relations with foreign firms and has difficulty gauging foreign requirements for Soviet literature. He proposes that the time has come to form in Tashkent an administration that would centralize all publishing houses that export publications from the republic, plan the themes and tirazhes of works sent abroad and manage their sales, and put writers and translators from Eastern countries under contract.

4439

CSU: 1836/426

ANNIVERSARY OF FORMER UZBEK PRIME MINISTER OBSERVED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 8 May 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,000-word article by A. Mustafoev entitled "In the Service of the Party and the People" in which he sketches the political career of Abdujabbor Abdurahmonov (1907-1975), chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers from 1938 to 1950, in conjunction with the 80th anniversary of his birth date. Born in 1907 into a poor family in Tashkent, Abdurahmonov was orphaned in his youth and had to work in a period when local workers were exploited by the Tsarist administration, Russian bourgeoisie, and local feudal lords. He studied in one of the many schools opened in Tashkent after 1918, and in 1924 was sent on a komsomol pass to study at a factory school near Moscow. Active in komsomol and trade union work he entered the party in 1928. Returning to Uzbekistan he worked in the Uzbektorg system and then entered party work as a gorkom secretary in Margilan and Fergana. In 1931 he was elected secretary of the Yangiyul Raykom where he contributed to the organization of collectivization and fought the attempts of various farm leaders to slow its pace. In 1935 he was sent to study at the Ivanovo Industrial Academy, but was unable to complete his studies because Uzbekistan needed experienced cadres. In 1938 he was sent as first secretary to the Bukhara Obkom.

In July 1938, on the recommendation of Uzbek CP Central Committee First Secretary Usman Yusupov, Abdurahmonov was appointed chairman of the republic Council of People's Commissars, a post he held until 1950. In this position he worked to develop the republic's economy. As a leader of the new type he had close ties with the masses, regularly toured enterprises and farms, and spoke with workers. In May 1951 the party appointed him USSR Deputy Minister of Sovkhozes. In 1955 he returned to Uzbekistan and worked as Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Chairman of Gosplan. Due to worsening health after long years of ceaseless work he was released from the chairmanship of Gosplan in 1956. Nonetheless, he served as adviser at the USSR Embassy in Vietnam, Uzbek SSR Minister of Local Industry, and Uzbekistan's permanent representative to the USSR Council of Ministers. He died in 1975. The biography concludes: "A. Abdurahmonov dedicated his whole life and work to the people's well-being, which is why grateful generations cherish his memory and speak his name with respect."

9439

CS0: 1836/427

UZBEK JUSTICE MINISTER ON UNOFFICIAL ISLAM, ADVENTISTS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 19 May 1987 carries on page 2 a 2,400-word article by B. Olimjonov, Uzbek SSR Minister of Justice, entitled "We Must Observe Laws Concerning Religion" in which he discusses a variety of unofficial and illegal activities by Muslim clerics and Adventists in Uzbekistan. He states that those who propagate or serve religion have no right to politically oppose the interests of Soviet society or to conduct propaganda among the religious aimed at preventing them from participating in the cultural, social, and political life of the country and republic. Unfortunately, various backward customs and traditions are so widespread in numerous oblasts of the republic that they seriously impede the political and cultural growth of workers. According to him, fake clerics take advantage of the ignorance of citizens, urge them to observe superstitious customs and teach them to their children, and in this way grossly violate laws concerning religion. Many religious propagators and figures lead indecent lives, practice deception, engage in parasitism and fraud, and in these ways accumulate vast unearned income. They skirt the law by refusing to be registered with government organs, violate laws concerning religion, and commit criminal acts.

Olimjonov states that due to the thriving existence of traditional "harmless customs" a substantial part of the republic population is enmeshed in the net of religious traditions. Numerous religious ceremonies and customs are increasingly being observed in rayons, cities, villages, settlements, and neighborhoods. These include the following: sacrifice (khudoyi), fasting (roza), the hayit-festival, the sacrifice festival, praying, funeral ceremonies (janaza), religious weddings, circumcision ceremonies (sunnat), chanting the nativity poem of the Prophet (navlud), the Bibi Seshanba ceremony, pilgrimages, folk healing, fortunetelling, making the sign of the cross, Easter, baptism, and others. Thus far, atheistic work has not produced concrete results. In Kashkadarya, Tashkent, Namangan, Surkhandarya, and Karakalpak Oblasts, thousands of people hold religious weddings and funerals, and the executive committees of local soviets are not taking steps to install order.

Olimjonov notes that in recent years the Justice Ministry has conducted two studies of how laws concerning religion are observed in Namangan Oblast. Both investigations revealed that unregistered societies, groups, and religious figures are very active and that government organs are quite inactive. Azizkhojayev, the imam of Namangan City, was sentenced to prison for deception and a person named Budanov was imprisoned for speculating in religious books. Despite this, groups continue to teach religious beliefs, and pilgrimages to

six major holy sites are unfettered. Religious societies and groups are building places of worship through administrative deception. Nor is the fight against religion effective in Dzhizak and Bukhara Oblasts where the number of participants in Friday prayers is increasing. According to the minister: "Hundreds of thousands of people attend places of worship in the republic on religious holidays."

Olimjonov attributes part of the blame for this situation to the restriction of women to the family and home sphere rather than introducing them into social production where they could be freed of religious vestiges. Due to the survival of feudal relationships in which men are the masters, the love between young people is often destroyed or defiled by reactionary Islamic traditions. Court statistics show that family women suffer as a result of religious and feudal survivals. For example, N. Samarov, a school teacher in Arnasay Rayon, regularly abused his wife and was an alcoholic as well. Although school officials were aware of this situation they did nothing. Finally, the wife Navroz Samarova felt compelled to take her own life. Samarov was punished, but the school director was only reprimanded. Justice and court organs must not close their eyes to such crimes which are excused by Muslim "ethics." A growing number of people are being prosecuted in the republic, especially in Namangan, Samarkand, and Khorezm Oblasts, for polygamy and taking and giving bride-price. The number of prosecutions for forcing women to marry or preventing them from divorcing against their wishes is on the rise in Karakalpak, Navoi, and Tashkent Oblasts.

Olimjonov cites several cases in which rayon people's courts have imprisoned individuals for violating laws concerning religion. In Tashkent Rayon, pensioner A. Bakhirov was imprisoned for buying books of a religious nature, speculating in them, and even reading them to his grandchildren. In Bulungur Rayon, N. Alayev, Z. Ahmedov, M. Rajabov, U. Boymirzayev, and I. Umarov were prosecuted under article 145 of the Uzbek SSR Criminal Code and imprisoned for secretly organizing a group of 15 teenagers beginning in August 1983 and teaching them religious doctrine with the use of the Koran. People's courts in Sherabad, Saryasya, and Kumkurgan Rayons have sentenced several individuals for making copies from the Koran and selling them to people as amulets. In Bulungur Rayon, A. Eshqulov was imprisoned for defrauding a woman out of money by telling her he could cure her illness by reading the Koran. For similar actions, Sun-Zuo-Khin of Andizhan and D. Ahmedova of Kokand were sentenced.

The Justice Minister also discusses a "poisonous sect" called the Council of Adventist-Reformers which operates clandestinely in the pursuit of political goals. The sect has eight leaders (M.I. Murkin, N.N. Cheremisov, G.S. Bedarev, V.F. Vasilchenko, and others), all people without a definite job or residence. For seven years they spread in Tashkent City and Oblast fabrications and calumny about the social and political system of the USSR. They had a printing press in a secret apartment and printed up books and letters that they distributed in the Soviet Union and to colleagues abroad. They urged citizens to not carry out their social obligations, to defy laws concerning religion, to teach religion to their children, and to refuse to enter military service. According to Olimjonov, the Adventist-Reformers sect has been banned and its leaders sentenced to long terms in prison.

UZBEK ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 29 May 1987 carries on page 7 a 1,400-word article by Candidate of Philosophy Kh. Yunusov, teacher of scientific atheism at the Tashkent Institute of Motor Transport and Highways, entitled "A Complicated and Delicate Problem" in which he points out that over the last 15-20 years gross violations of Leninist principles like false reporting and bribery and incorrect methods of cadre policy and leadership have seriously damaged ideological and political education work in the republic. Among other things, this has fostered an increase in religious belief among the population. Atheistic propaganda is a complicated and delicate problem. More effective use must be made of lectures, conversations, displays, and films. People who are articulate and well-trained in methodology must be selected for this work. He states that religion is most prevalent among that sector of the population that is not engaged or little engaged in production. Consequently, radio, television, and literature play an important role in atheistic education. Unfortunately, today's writers appear to be reluctant to tackle the subject. The number of articles and books on atheistic themes has sharply declined and those that are published do not go beyond stressing the harmful nature of religion.

Yunusov remarks that while criticism of religion is an important aspect of atheistic education, it is also necessary to demonstrate using concrete examples how religion has caused the people to suffer over the centuries and impeded the forces of production and social progress. It is equally necessary to show how bourgeois ideologues exploit religion in their own interests. Religious propagators have recently adopted the tactic of presenting religion in a modern guise. Most religious establishments are outfitted with microphones and loud speakers through which to blare their messages into the minds of believers. Foreign adversaries know that religious establishments also have radio receivers and thus regularly transmit Koranic passages in between the playing of songs in their radio broadcasts. The Reagan administration provides enormous financial aid to Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe for the purpose of extending spiritual influence over the religions in socialist countries. The Central Intelligence Agency has affiliates in Pakistan and Gonkok from where some 1,750 "experts," selected from among former Nazis and traitors, spread slander against socialist countries. Washington is holding talks with several countries in Asia for the purpose of installing radio transmitters to strengthen broadcasts into Central Asia and Eastern areas of the USSR. Already, 50 of these transmitters broadcast news into Afghanistan.

Yunusov emphasizes that laws must not be broken in carrying out atheistic propaganda and the fight against religion. Unfortunately, various officials are violating Leninist directives regarding religious establishments by using administrative actions against them. He states, "You may recall that in the 1930s a number of mosques and medressehs were destroyed without cause or handed over for the use of other organizations in cities and villages of our republic. Such mistakes continue today in some places."

UZBEK DECRIES SURVIVAL OF MUSLIM FUNERAL CUSTOMS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 8 May 1987 carries on page 7 an 800-word article by Candidate of Philology Usmon Qosimov entitled "The Good Must Not Be Destroyed" in which he recounts an incident connected with the funeral of his father. Sovkhoz and village soviets arranged a meeting for mourning prior to the funeral to which several old people objected, saying that his father was not a party member and that such a meeting was contrary to the Shariat. Nonetheless it was held. After the burial he returned to Dzhizak, but before he left he told his brothers and sisters that they should not hold the various religious ceremonies like "The Seven" and "The Forty" that mark periods after a death, but should instead gather on Memorial Day to visit their parents' graves. However, before three weeks passed various religious women in the village convinced his older brother that "The Forty" must be held, and so his wife began making preparations. Already suffering from high blood pressure, this women had to bake some 300 loaves of bread. The heat from the ovens raised her blood pressure, and she fell ill and died a few days later. She was only 38 years old and left three children. Qosimov ascribes the blame for her death to those who paid more concern to holding this custom for the deceased father than to the living. He states that mullahs and ishans not only harm society by deceiving people into blindly observing religion, but also cause further suffering to bereaved ones who do not understand the true goals of these parasites and frauds.

ATHEISTIC MEETINGS HELD IN UZBEK NEIGHBORHOODS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 12 May 1987 carries on page 4 a 700-word article from UzTAG entitled "Meeting in the Makhalla" which reports on a meeting held in Kirov Makhalla of Akmal Ikramov Rayon of Tashkent. The meeting was organized by the Commission for Sociological Research and Publishing Affairs of the Republic Council for Perfecting the Soviet Way of Life. P.Q. Habibullaev, President of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences and Chairman of the Board of the Uzbek SSR Zhaniye Society, opened the meeting as chairman of the commission. Members of the commission spoke about the restructuring taking place in all fields of life, the spread of religious superstitions and other vestiges of the past, and ways to fight them. The report states that this type of meeting is being introduced in all 31 makhallas of the rayon as a measure intended to combat vestiges of the past.

TASHKENT CUSTOMS SEIZES RELIGIOUS CONTRABAND

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 14 May 1987 carries on page 4 a 300-word item from UzTAG entitled "Vigilance" which reports that Tashkent Customs won second place in All-Union socialist competition for 1986 among departments of the Main Administration for State Customs Inspection of the USSR Council of Ministers. All the shipments and parcels that pass through Tashkent airport are inspected for forbidden articles. The report points out that there are many attempts to bring in narcotic substances, precious articles, currency, and ideologically harmful materials.

SPEECH OF UZBEK WRITERS UNION CHIEF AT MOSCOW PLENUM

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 15 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,100-word text of a speech by Ulmas Umarbekov, chairman of the board of the Uzbek Union of Writers, titled "The Age and Literature" presented at a plenum of the USSR Union of Writers in Moscow. In the speech, Umarbekov notes that the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee provided an opportunity for moral purification and new thinking about various oppressions that had gone on for many years in the republic. Uzbek writers were spiritually uplifted and sensed that they were a social force like Uzbek writers of the past. Their works have contributed to understanding social issues like environmentalism and have argued for the preservation of nature, the Aral Sea in particular. In this they have been supported by Russian and other authors like S. Zaligin, G. Baklanov, and M. Tank. Umarbekov devoted most of his remarks to discussing a recent plenum held by the Uzbek Writers Union on the theme "The Fraternity of Literatures--The Friendship of Youth." Participants criticized the Writers Union and its press organs for slackness in restructuring and discussed the many tasks facing writers. These tasks include: fighting the practice of taking students away from their studies for agricultural work; providing objective coverage of the literature of the 1920s-1930s; getting writers to take part in compiling chrestomathies of history and literature for secondary schools; enlivening the work of the Writers Union and publishing houses; and establishing and strengthening concrete relations with writers of fraternal peoples. Umarbekov states that the plenum demonstrated that young writers will continue the traditions and works of the masters of Uzbek literature, remain loyal to the fraternity of Soviet peoples and literatures, and be intolerant of phenomena alien to the Soviet way of life. In addition, the plenum's agenda included the problem of improving Russian language teaching and study. He concludes with the remark: "Today, it is completely unacceptable to view with disdain, as was done in the recent past, Uzbek writers who write in Russian, the language of great Lenin."

UZBEK WRITERS UNION CHIEF ON SOVIET LITERATURE DAYS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 22 May 1987 carries on page 1 a 700-word item by Ulmas Umarbekov, chairman of the board of the Uzbek SSR Union of Writers, entitled "Our Greatest Wealth" in which he comments on the Days of Soviet Literature, held in Uzbekistan from 25 May to 1 June. Umarbekov states that the Days are being held in cooperation with the USSR Union of Writers to mark the 70th

anniversary of Great October. Writers from Moscow, Leningrad, and fraternal republics have come to Uzbekistan and are touring its provinces and sites and holding talks and evenings. Umarbekov remarks: "In keeping with a decision made by the board of the Uzbek Union of Writers there will be no ceremonial opening of the literary days. I think there is no necessity to comment on why such a decision was reached." He further states that participants will meet with a variety of people in a variety of settings in which they will have the opportunity to hear the thoughts and suggestions of readers. They will see with their own eyes the Aral Sea, the Khorezm area, cotton fields, and schools, and become familiar with problems that need solving, as well as with the changes made since the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee. During the Days, an All-Union conference will be held in Samarkand on the theme "The victory of socialism in the Soviet East, and the development of the historical-revolutionary novel." It is expected that this conference will prove beneficial in mastering this genre of novel and also point to new directions that require artistic treatment in correctly approaching the historical past.

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NATIONALITY RELATIONS' FLOURISHING, RAPPROCHEMENT DISCUSSED

Moscow NAUCHNYY KOMMUNIZM in Russian No 1, Jan 87 (signed to press 12 Dec 86)
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[Article by G. T. Tavadox, candidate of historical sciences and assistant professor: "Urgent Problems in National Relations in Light of the 27th CPSU Congress Materials"]

[Excerpts] Problems concerning the development of nations and nationality relations are being actively investigated in our social science literature. However, far from all of them have been solved. This is connected with the fact that scholars have paid special attention for a long time to the achievements and successes in the socialist solution of the nationality question in our country. Essentially, a narrow range of questions have been within the researchers' field of vision at a time when life was posing other problems and new processes and phenomena in the development of nations and their mutual relations were arising.

The problems of mutual relations between nations are not being removed from the agenda. One of the most important of them is the problem of the essence of a nation as an historical community and the correlation of the social and the ethnic factors in it. Different points of view exist on this problem in literature. In correctly pointing out the definite role of the social factor in this correlation, some authors, at the same time, underestimate the significance of the ethnic factor. They come out against treating a nation as a social and ethnic community citing the fact that the recognition of the ethnic factor as one of the aspects of the national factor breaks down the nation into two seemingly autonomous, separately existing, equivalent parts: the social and the ethnic. Others are inclined to boil the content of a nation down to ethnic factors and to identify the nation with "ethnos." Such "etnnization" of nations and nationality relations leads to the counterpositioning of the social with the ethnic, which is understood as something not social and immutable. One cannot agree with both above-mentioned views since, in one case, the role of the ethnic factor is underestimated, and, in the other -- it is exaggerated.

In our view, there is every justification for characterizing a nation as a social ethnic community. Nations are a dialectical unity of economic, social, political, ideological, and ethnic factors, in which the decisive role belongs

to the first one. It is this unity that expresses the essence of national ties and national consolidation. Consequently the ethnic factor emerges as one of the system-formation factors of a nation.

The ethnic in the national -- this is mainly the language and the specific cultural and every-day features that are expressed to some degree or other in material culture and in traditions, customs, consciousness, and psychology. Although the ethnic is socially conditioned, it possesses a certain conservatism and relative independence. However, the considerable stability of the ethnic properties when compared with economic, social, political, and ideological changes for the better does not mean that any change does not occur in the ethnic area. Ethnic properties also develop under the influence of the social organization based on a new content and forms of public life. Under the conditions of socialism, the content of the ethnic distinctive features changes considerably as a result of the internationalization of all aspects of social life.

Thus, economic and social factors are the determinant ones for the maintenance and development of a nation. This, however, cannot serve as a basis for underestimating the ethnic factors and their role in the life of a nation and in the historical process. The national cannot exist without the ethnic although it does not boil down to it. Without considering the ethnic factors, aspects and facets in a nation's life, it is impossible to understand the entire complexity of nationality relations and their specific nature. That is why it is impossible to regard the ethnic aspect in the make-up of a nation as something secondary and unessential.

All this does not mean that it is necessary to regard the ethnic as being of paramount importance when analyzing national processes; this would lead to making it absolute. However, the underestimation of the ethnic is no less dangerous; this would mean a concession to national nihilism. It is known how decisively V. I. Lenin came out against national nihilism and against attempts to replace nationality relations with class ones. In pointing out that there are no people without national distinctive features (cf. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 38, p 184), he demanded exceptional tact, sensitivity and caution in all matters that touch upon national distinctive features, psychology and national feelings (cf. *ibid.*, Vol 45, pp 357, 360.) One must add to this that special attention is being paid in party documents of recent years to the need to investigate more deeply the specific requirements in the field of language, culture and way of life, i.e., the ethnic aspects of national life.

There is not sufficient clarity in our literature regarding the content of the concept of "nationality question." No one denies that the nationality question, which was inherited from the past, has been successfully solved in the Soviet Union. The debate concerns something else: Does it mean that nationality problems, in general, have been removed from the agenda?

V. I. Lenin pointed out that "The goal of socialism is not only to destroy the splintering of humanity into small states and any isolation of nations and not only to bring nations closer together but also to merge them" (*Ibid.*, Vol 27, p 256). Proceeding from this, one must say that the complete solution of

nationality problems is only possible along with the disappearance of national and state differences and the merging of nations. Consequently, the solution of the problems, which are connected with the further flourishing and rapprochement of nations and nationalities and with their gradual merging into a nation-less community, must be examined in connection with the achievement of a classless and then a completely socially homogenous society, i.e., mature communism.

The 27th Party Congress documents have openly and quite realistically posed and cast light on problems that have enormous significance for the Soviet multinational state. The congress stated that the results of the path, which has been traveled by Soviet society, convincingly testify that the nationality question, which carried over from the past, has been successfully solved in the Soviet Union. National oppression and national inequality of rights in all of their forms and manifestations have been destroyed in the country once and for all. The unbreakable friendship of peoples and respect for the national culture and national dignity of each one of them have been affirmed and have entered the consciousness of millions of people. The Soviet people are now emerging as a qualitatively new social and international community that is united by a unity of economic interests, ideology and political goals.

New problems, which have been engendered by the very fact that a great number of nations and nationalities are living together and cooperating in one state, are now on the agenda. The 27th Party Congress defined the main tasks in improving nationality relations: strengthening and developing in every way possible a single all-union multinational state; building up the material and spiritual potential of each republic within the framework of a single national economic complex and consistently expanding the division of labor between the republics; and developing a single culture for the Soviet people, which is socialist in content, diverse in national forms, international in spirit and based on the best achievements and distinctive progressive traditions of the peoples of the USSR.

The CPSU policy in the field of nationality relations consists of further contributing to the thorough flourishing and gradual rapprochement of nations and nationalities, which will lead to the achievement of a complete unity of nations in the distant historical future. In this connection, a correct understanding of the dialectics of the flourishing and rapprochement of socialist nations has exceptionally important theoretical and practical significance. This primarily relates to the question of the essence and correlation of the trends toward the flourishing and rapprochement of nations under socialism.

The terms "development" and "flourishing" are very close and coincide a great deal. It is, therefore, no accident that party documents and scientific literature use both terms. However, there are differences between them also. In our opinion, the concept "development of nations" is broader and more universal. The flourishing of nations is possible only under the conditions of socialism whereas one can talk about the development of nations in conformity with capitalism. Consequently the concept "flourishing of nations" expresses the specifics of national development in a socialist society. That is why it is more correct and preferable to talk about the flourishing of

nations as one of the two interconnected trends in their development under socialism. Let us point out that the 27th CPSU Congress materials uses this concept.

The proposition that the trends toward the development of nations and toward their rapprochement emerge in dialectical unity and as being interconnected and mutually conditioned, is generally accepted in our literature. At the same time, we have conducted a discussion for many years about the correlation of these trends with each other. The majority of authors have soundly proven that the leading trend is the trend toward rapprochement. However, they have often concluded from this that the trend toward rapprochement was preferable to flourishing. Primary attention was paid to a thorough study of the rapprochement process in socialist nations and nationalities. Voluntarily or not, the importance of the trend toward flourishing was underestimated, and a secondary subordinate role was allotted to it. Opinions that "a loss," "disappearance" or "dying away" of nationality signs was occurring, began to be expressed. Such judgments were the result of a failure to understand the Marxist-Leninist dialectics of socialist nationality relations, in particular, the underestimation of the vitality and progressive nature of the national processes that were occurring under the influence of socialism and which determined to a great deal the rates of the rapprochement itself of nations.

The 27th CPSU Congress pointed out: "Both the further flourishing of nations and nationalities and their steady rapprochement, which is occurring on the basis of voluntariness, equality and fraternal cooperation, are typical of nationality relations in our country" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS" [Materials on the 27th CPSU Congress], p 156.) An internal indissoluble bond exists between the flourishing and rapprochement of socialist nations. The conditions and means for both national development and the rapprochement of states are being established simultaneously and in organic interconnection. Without the rapprochement of nations, their flourishing would be impossible; and without thorough development and flourishing -- the rapprochement between them. We are essentially talking about the dialectical unity of both aspects of the development process of socialist nations and nationality relations.

The rapprochement of nations occurs by equalizing the economic and cultural development levels of the republics, the identification of their social structures, the extension of the division of labor between the republics, their economic cooperation, the strengthening of internationality contacts, the interaction and mutual enrichment of national cultures, the widespread dissemination of the Russian language, etc. The rapprochement of nations leads to the strengthening of their similarities, the origination and development of common features, the conversion of the best achievements of some peoples into the achievements of others, the gradual loss of individual nationality peculiarities, and the obliteration of facets which distinguish one nation from another.

Rapprochement is acquiring more and more leading importance in the indissoluble dialectical unity of the flourishing and rapprochement of nations. This is explained by the growing internationalization of social life and the strengthening of the mutually influencing and mutually enriching processes in nations and nationalities. This, however, does not occur as a

result of the named trend predominating over the trend toward a free and comprehensive national development. The leading position of the rapprochement trend does not mean that its strengthening is occurring because of a weakening of the trend toward flourishing. On the other hand, the comprehensive flourishing of nations in no way hinders the rapprochement and the achievement of a complete unity of nations.

Under the conditions of socialism, the trend toward the flourishing of nations and nationalities is just as "equitable", lawful and progressive as the trend toward their rapprochement. The flourishing of nations is the continuous and rightful development of all aspects of national life. This leads to the strengthening of the internal unity of nations on a socialist basis under the conditions of their steady rapprochement and maximum use of the achievements of other peoples.

The essential elements of national consolidation are continuing to manifest themselves during the present stage. This does not hinder in any way the rapprochement and strengthening of the unity of nations. Life shows that the consolidation processes, which are occurring in socialist nations, are extremely prolonged in time and multifaceted in their content (social, economic, political, spiritual, psychological, and ethnic.) In addition, they are spreading (although to different degrees) to all nations -- both "young" and "old" (the Russian and Ukrainian.) Moreover, the process of transforming socialist nationalities into a nation is continuing.

Soviet society has never before had at its disposal such large opportunities for developing national factors and for their renewal and enrichment as it does now. Take, for example, the question of national self-consciousness. Life shows that the economic and cultural progress of all nations and nationalities is invariably accompanied by a growth in their national self-consciousness. This is a natural and objective process. Under the conditions of accelerating the social and economic progress of the republics, a nation will undergo further growth in national self-consciousness. However, national self-consciousness is a very complicated social phenomenon. It can play a positive role only when it is free of nationalistic feelings and consciousness and is combined with an internationalist consciousness and feeling. If this is not so, the growth in national self-consciousness can lead to its transformation into national conceit and vanity. In other words, national self-consciousness can be both expanded in the direction of strengthening feelings of Soviet patriotism, internationalism and the friendship of peoples and -- under certain conditions -- lead to national narrow-mindedness, national isolation, nationalism, and chauvinism.

The task consists of having national self-consciousness and national pride directed into a positive channel and of using the social energy, which has been piled up in them, for the sake of the common task. In this connection, one must mention Soviet patriotism. It has a clearly expressed international character. At the same time, the patriotism of Soviet citizens is not non-national. That is why these national aspects must be considered during patriotic and international indoctrination.

The correct understanding of the dialectics of the flourishing and the rapprochement of socialist nations and nationalities is acquiring special significance during the present stage in the development of the Soviet multinational society. The acceleration concept, which was adopted by the party congress, assumes an increase in the economic and cultural potential of each people and each republic and an increase in its real contribution to all-union wealth. Under modern conditions, the role of the international efforts of our country's peoples and of all union republics in achieving common goals is growing. The Soviet people's material and spiritual potential is providing an opportunity to develop and carry out for the sake of individual nations and nationalities and for the entire multinational socialist motherland those grand projects which could not be realized by the efforts of any one republic. At the same time, each republic's contribution to the all-union economy is growing. We are talking about the fact that their capabilities in strengthening and developing the Soviet Union and in accelerating the country's social and economic development have grown based on the maximum building-up of each republic's production, scientific and technical potential. It was pointed out during the 27th Party Congress: "When developing the main directions in national policy for the future, it is especially important to be concerned that the contribution of all republics to the development of a single national economic complex corresponds to their growing economic and spiritual potential. The development of the republics' production cooperation, coordination and mutual help should occur for the highest interest of our multinational state and each republic" (Ibid., p 53).

In our view, the main contradiction in nationality relations is the contradiction between flourishing and rapprochement. Flourishing and rapprochement -- these are not isolated processes moving parallel to each other, but interconnected and interconditioned processes. The trend toward flourishing is inherent in each socialist nation and nationality. However, the trend toward rapprochement with the other nations is just as lawful. Losses of individual nationality elements are unavoidable during the process of rapprochement. Liberation from everything, which is out-of-date and obsolete and which does not correspond to present conditions, does not occur without pain. The new and the progressive become firmly established during the struggle against the old and the obsolete. In other words, not just any national factor, but only that which is pliable and progressive, is located in the rapprochement channel.

Thus, contradictions are inherent in the development of socialist nations and nationalities and in their mutual relations just as they are in any development. These contradictions, however, are not antagonistic since we are talking about development under the conditions of socialism where the flourishing and rapprochement of nations occur on the basis of equality, voluntariness, close cooperation, and fraternal friendship. The main thing is that these contradictions be brought to light in a timely fashion, do not grow into social conflicts thanks to the scientifically sound policy and practical activity of the party, and be resolved in favor of progress for all Soviet people.

In a methodological, practical and political respect, the following proposition of the 27th CPSU Congress has fundamental importance: "Our

party's tradition, which comes from Lenin, consists of special sensitivity and discretion in everything, which concerns nationality policy and touches upon the interests of each nation and nationality and the national feelings of the people, and -- at the same time -- a highly principled struggle against manifestations of national narrow-mindedness and conceit, nationalism and chauvinism no matter in what clothing they are disguised" (Ibid, p 54).

It is necessary to regard these Leninist requirements as a unit. Tolerance and delicacy with respect to national feelings and a considerate consideration of national psychology should not be transformed into unscrupulousness when we are talking about the struggle against manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. There can be no indulgences and reductions here. Nationalist deviations and distortions can inflict substantial damage on our society under modern conditions. The events, which occurred during the recent past in Uzbekistan, Kirghizia and several other republics, show how individual displays of a nationalist psychology, which has been preserved, can contribute to the ideological and moral degeneration of personnel.

In this connection, one must dwell on the importance of personnel policy. The required attention is still not being paid to this question in literature. Several authors even think that there are no problems here. They say that citizens of different nationalities are represented in party and state agencies in all of our republics. You see, however, they are talking about insuring the necessary representation of non-indigenous nationalities in the various links of party and state agencies in the republics. Here, however, things are not always well. The mistakes, which have been committed when solving personnel matters in some republic party organizations, testify to this.

When speaking at the 27th CPSU Congress, Ye. K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and CPSU Central Committee secretary, said: "To whom is it not clear, comrades, that a tireless concern for the growth of local cadres and for their indoctrination in a spirit of internationalism is required under the conditions of our multinational country? Meanwhile, local "fellow-countryman" attitudes have prevailed here and there. These have interfered with the progress toward leadership by representatives of all nationalities and they have interfered with the interregional exchange of personnel and the exchange of experienced workers between the republics and the center and between the country's rayons and cities. In a number of cases, this has led to self-isolation, the stagnation of the task and other negative phenomena" (PRAVDA, 28 February 1986).

Displays of nationalism and localism in personnel matters, where absolute preference is given to citizens of the indigenous nationality, are fraught with many negative consequences. That is why, any elements of national isolation in the selection and promotion of workers at the local level are impermissible. As the 27th Party Congress pointed out, under modern conditions it is necessary to carry out the selection and placement of leading cadre in two ways -- using local comrades and transferring workers from the center and other rayons in the country. It is written in the 27th congress resolution on the CPSU Central Committee political report: "... it is advisable to transfer workers, who have been in one position for a long time,

to other organizations and regions and to exchange personnel between the center and local areas" ("Materal'y ..." op. cit., p 116). The CPSU will resolutely struggle against cases of protectionism and the promotion of workers based on the principal of "fellow-countryman" association and kinship.

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8802

CSO: 1830/574

GOVERNMENT, PARTY OFFICIALS URGED TO GET LEGAL EDUCATION

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by A. Sliva, dean of the All-Union Juridical Correspondence Institute Department of Soviet Building, candidate of juridical sciences: "The Lawyer in the Ispolkom"]

[Text] Last summer, Vladimir Vasilyevich Pylin asked the acceptance commission of our institute for admittance to the department of soviet building. The fact that precisely this secondary school graduate came to us is, perhaps, particularly symptomatic.

The point is that Vladimir Vasilyevich Pylin made the decision to obtain a legal education only after he was chosen secretary of the Leningrad oblispolkom in 1985. Through his own experience, he came to the conclusion that carrying out his new official responsibilities is difficult without professional legal knowledge.

In addition to the oblispolkom secretary, many Leningrad Oblast soviet employees have enrolled in the department. They include gosispolkom secretaries, heads of organizational-instruction departments, leaders of social security departments, chairmen, and secretaries of agricultural soviet ispolkoms. Significantly more employees from accounting and living area distribution departments, general departments, reception offices, and from ispolkom personnel sectors, have become our students. Instructors, inspectors and assessors working for soviet agencies annually enroll with us. Experience obviously confirms that, above all, these categories of soviet staff employees need thorough professional knowledge in the area of law and soviet building.

It is gratifying that in some places soviet agencies have recently begun devoting more attention to the legal support of their activities. Juridical service in the soviets is being strengthened. In particular, experience in combining organizational and legal work in Estonian rayon and city soviet ispolkoms is interesting. Here, organizational-juridical departments, the staffs of which also include specialists with higher juridical education, have already been functioning successfully for several years.

Measures oriented toward broadening the goal-directed training of juridical cadres for soviet agencies and toward their more active utilization give new impetus to this matter. At the same time, restructuring here is neither going as rapidly nor as thoroughly as one might want for the present time. Calculations show that in soviet organizations there are many tens of thousands of responsibilities, the fulfillment of which requires legal knowledge at the level of higher or secondary juridical education. Filling these positions with the corresponding specialists is clearly unsatisfactorily being carried out today.

Thus, lawyers number fewer than 800 persons, or only 1.5 percent, of the more than 52 thousand ispolkom secretaries who must every day resolve legal questions and render juridical aid to people's deputies. To this day, there are no legal advisors in the majority of rayon and city soviet ispolkoms. This, it seems, is one of the reasons that the significant number of unlawful acts made by ispolkoms and other local agencies has not been reducing for many years.

In this connection, the norms of citizen's, land, administrative, labor and financial legislation are violated most often, i.e., precisely those which affect the rights and interests of people to the greatest extent. The legal incompetence of soviet organization employees usually leads to one of two extremes: to either exceeding authority, supplanting other agencies and leaders, or to the incomplete use of their true legal possibilities.

Let us take, for example, the constitutional authority of local soviets to control the observance of legislation on the part of enterprises and organizations. The right to revoke or suspend illegal orders and instructions is used exceptionally rarely. At the same time, several tens of thousands of such violations annually are revealed only by agencies of the prosecutor's office. Naturally, one could not get by without the prosecutor's supervision. However, one must not forget that this is also a direct responsibility of the soviets. Without their active position we would be unable to secure rigorous observance of socialist legality. Indeed, do not local agencies, responsible for the comprehensive development of territories, very often lose in disputes with enterprises, ministries and departments, because the sectorial organization has much stronger legal support in terms of cadres, than the local soviets' organization?

Starting this year, three more law institutes and eight state university departments should begin training juridical cadres which will be assigned to work in the governments of republics and krayoblispolkoms. Expanding the geographical area of training is unquestionably necessary. It is important that the VUZ, where the employee will be able to both obtain the appropriate education and systematically raise his legal qualifications, will be closer for every soviet employee. At the same time, our experience is convincing of the fact that in carrying out actual restructuring an entire set of fundamental issues remain unresolved in this area.

Above all, this concerns acceptance rules. In accordance with operating rules, our department, called upon to strictly carry out the goal-directed training of specialists, must also accept for training a considerable share of

persons not working in soviet agencies. Paradoxical as it is, in enrolling according to the competition, about ten categories of students graduating from secondary school go ahead of soviet employees! As a result, many soviet employees who had successfully passed the exams are not accepted for training. It would be difficult, perhaps, to conceive of a stronger way to repulse their desire to raise their legal qualifications.

As a result, a break very frequently arises between the professional knowledge being obtained and the workplace of the student, who is learning without giving up work. Work superintendent, metal worker, nurse, steward, chauffeur... this is how many of our students work, even those preparing for state exams. As a rule, they do not find ways into the soviet organization even after finishing school. Such a situation essentially discredits the meaning of goal-oriented training of specialists.

All this is convincing of the fact that it is expedient to have special rules for admittance to higher educational departments and the soviet building departments of juridical institutes and departments. In these rules it is necessary to regulate the order of admittance and the training of soviet employees who have higher non-juridical education. The more so, as the majority of them want to receive professional legal training. It is clearly not in the interests of the matter to restrain their striving toward obtaining the education needed for a type of work.

No more than a third of our graduates work today in the soviet system. A contradictory situation has taken shape. On the one hand, it is in the interests of the matter to have professional lawyers in soviet agencies, and on the other, many people trained for this, including those recommended for training by the ispolkoms, are not working in these agencies.

It would seem, and should be obvious, that if an ispolkom sends a person to study, he is also called upon to see to his work arrangements. The instruction of a student-lawyer, even if he does not leave work, costs a minimum of 5,000 rubles of state money. Unfortunately, one could cite many examples of such formal recommendations by ispolkoms. Sometimes even the leaders of soviet agencies treat their subordinates' studies as an annoying burden. And this in times, when many posts related to law-using activity are being filled by teachers, engineers, agronomists, and librarians, almost all specialists trained at a higher school, and very rarely by lawyers...

The competency requirement above all signifies a professional knowledge of law and soviet building for the employee apparatus of soviets, which apply the law, deal with organizational issues and are called upon to render juridical aid to people's deputies.

13362

CSO: 1800/667

METHODS, RESULTS OF SOBRIETY SOCIETY CRITICIZED

Moscow LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Mar 87 p 16

[Article by Georgiy Dolgov under the rubric "Sobriety Is the Norm of Life": "Action or Contemplation?"]

[Text] It is now difficult to see a drunk lying in the roadway. Generally speaking, it was as if drunkards disappeared immediately after the well-known ukase and they could not be seen. Now, they sometimes appear. Citizens who stand upright with difficulty are sometimes encountered even on the capital's subway. Nevertheless, they have become considerably fewer. Undoubtedly, this fact is comforting. However, it still does not provide any cause for unrestrained happiness over the complete eradication of alcoholism.

We received the first effect from measures of -- so to speak -- state influence. The limitations on and regulation of the trade in alcoholic beverages and the expansion of the rights of enterprise and institution administrations and public organizations with respect to those who love "to make merry" brought their own obvious fruits. I inquired in the industrial enterprises of Bryansk, Lipetsk, Belgorod, and Moscow how the problem of the struggle against drunkenness was now being solved in the collectives and how things were going at the present time. In trying to summarize all of the replies, all of the stories and all of the cited facts, approximately the following picture is obtained. The collectives in the majority of industrial enterprises required an average of four to seven months to eliminate cases of the use of alcohol at work positions and even cases of arriving at work in a condition -- to put it mildly -- of being "tired after yesterday." I also inquired about the contribution that the primary organizations of the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, which are being established everywhere today, made to the achievement of the obtained result. In reply, the directors of the enterprises and subunits and the secretaries of the party committees and bureaus embarrassedly made a helpless gesture.

Such a phenomenon has its own story and reasons. Let us go back and recall how the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety was born. First of all, it was done quickly. Perhaps that is why its statute did not turn out to be an original work that defined a very specific nature for the activity of the new voluntary organization, but was seemingly a compilation of the statutes of other, already existing, societies.

The fighters for sobriety were to be united based on their appearance and likeness into cells in their own work collectives, that is, at their work place. This was undoubtedly the simplest and shortest way to establish the society itself. It was put into practice using an old rut which had been worn magnificently smooth. Representatives of party and trade union organizations were invited to a discussion in the rayon departments and they were sternly reprimanded for the fact that they had still not established a primary organization of the society as yet. Recommendations on this score were passed out. The representatives of the administration and the party, trade union and Komsomol aktiv were obliged to sign up immediately, without discussing it. It was also recommended that ordinary workers be induced to join when there was an absence of volunteers. The highly experienced public organization directors, who were accustomed to conducting various campaigns, solved this task simply. Using bulletins, they set up people who suffer, for example, from a gastric illness as well as from several other diseases, not conducive to drinking. Collecting two rubles from them did not present any great difficulty. This is the way that a primary organization was very often established. The establishment was immediately reported to the rayon council and appropriate departments. The dues were sent as prescribed and everything settled down.

It seems that the basic mistake, which entails a whole series of negative consequences, lies on this easy and well trod path which the organizers of the struggle for sobriety selected at the very beginning of the movement. Aleksandr Sergeyevich Vorontsov, secretary of the party committee at the Moscow Sokolnicheskiy Railroad Car Repair and Building Plant, pointed out in a conversation that, having ended drunkenness at the works, they were not able to eliminate cases of its appearance in daily life and at residences. Internal affairs agency workers also evaluate the situation, which has taken shape, in this way. Their data confirms that drunkenness has now been transferred from work positions to apartments. It is as if it had gone underground and was hiding from people's eyes, but it has not disappeared and has not been stopped.

The members of the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety could have done a great deal to solve the problem that had arisen. If they did not completely conquer drunkards, they could have revealed them. No matter how we are separated by modern individual housing, we still know and see which of our neighbors abuses the poison, from whose apartment noise from intoxication is constantly heard, and whom crowds of "merry" friends visit. We also note how juveniles, who live with us in the same doorway and on the same stairway, conduct themselves. We know which of them requires help, advice and support in order to change his way of life. The healing of these ailments should become the concern of Society for the Struggle for Sobriety members.

It was reported to me that the society did not assign itself the mission of a concrete, real and effective struggle against alcoholics. It had quite different goals. Indeed, such a mission was not assigned and this evokes surprise at the very least. It is written in the statute that the society members should direct their main attention toward publicizing a sober way of life and attracting people by their example. You will agree that it appears somewhat strange that a society for struggle prefers a certain passive

contemplation to struggle. Let, they say, alcoholics look at teetotalers and give up drinking because of envy of their respectable life. This is something very ingenious. Moreover, we have always had non-drinking people and drunkards have never stared at them. They do not see them even today.

I tried to obtain some information on the society's activity from the public statements of its activists in the press, on the radio and on television. The attempt was unsuccessful. The analysis of what was read, heard and seen brought on sad reflections.

A considerable portion of the public propaganda about a sober way of life was devoted to how bad it was to drink. This position does not evoke any doubt. Another matter is the fact that the discussion is most often conducted in the passionate tone of the time that preceded the issuance of the ukase. Is this necessary today? The majority of the population has already agreed with the idea of sobriety and support it wholeheartedly. Now, people are more interested in what must be done to conquer the "green serpent" and how to do it. However, when furiously defending their splendid idea, the fighters for sobriety prefer for some reason not to get down to concrete matters.

It is possible to arbitrarily designate another variety of propaganda as alcoholic memoirs. The letters, diaries and simply penitential stories of former drunkards about their past scandalous lives belong to this category. They, of course, can scare a drinker and perhaps change his mind on reflection; however, the effectiveness of such presentations raises a certain doubt. You see, we have tried to scare them before. Where does the famous poster of an enlarged green liver not hang sadly!

The publicizing of the society's activity itself is still a "terra incognita". Gray spots of some work show only here and there on its white silence. Most frequently of all, they simply mean new ceremonies, for example, alcohol-free weddings. Undoubtedly, the task is an important and necessary one although rituals themselves are capable of sometimes being plunged into bewilderment. One day, such a wedding was shown on television. In accordance with the desires of the broadcast organizers, its participants tried with all their might to portray unrestrained joy and happiness. Their efforts evoked open sympathy and pity. It was only when glasses with mineral water and orange juice were raised over the table after the scheduled and well edited toast that the young people and their guests began to conduct themselves somewhat more naturally. It occurred to me: Was it worthwhile to undertake all of this commotion if the meaning and content of the ceremony were essentially the same as before. Of course, by replacing vodka with water, quite a bit has already been achieved; however, is this really the only meaning of the innovation?

The mass information media sometimes talk about all sorts of informal associations of sobriety advocates. However, one must regard them with care. These associations actually exist, for example the ballroom dance studio at the Moscow Engineer Physics Institute. Many of them, however, were established long ago even before the appearance of the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, and there is no merit in this.

I repeat, there are still, unfortunately, very few serious achievements by the fighters for sobriety. On the one hand, the society is allegedly a mass one; it now numbers more than 13 million people. On the other hand, there is something sectarian in it since no one clearly knows what this society is engaged in. In any case, its actual influence on improving our life and on further normalizing the moral atmosphere in the country is practically not being felt.

Perhaps I am exaggerating the situation somewhat. Perhaps there exist primary organizations that are militant and active. However, these isolated cases only confirm the general rule and do not refute it. An impression is being formed that the movement of the fighters for sobriety has begun to enter a dead end at the very beginning of its journey.

The establishment itself of the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety demanded an informal and unusual approach. It was apparently necessary to take historical experience into consideration and to strengthen its foundation with the results of serious scientific research in the area of social and public problems. Apparently this work was not done completely. Otherwise, the movement of the fighters for sobriety would not have been assigned as its task the achievement of high gross indicators. The great majority of members simply prick up their ears. Involuntarily, you begin to think that a certain portion of the people are listed in its ranks in a nominal manner. In turn, they are present in wine lines in a material manner.

At the same time, one cannot fail to recognize that the prospects for the activity of the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety are very broad. It can and must occupy a fitting place in our daily life and must become genuinely necessary for each one of us. Only one thing is required for this -- shifting its work from the formal sphere to the sphere of real and effective practices. The compilation of various reports, references, instructions, resolutions, protocols, and directives creates an outward impression of strenuous work. Its actual effect, however, is close to zero. It is not meant for the "paper serpent" to conquer the "green serpent."

I am thoroughly convinced, for example, that membership in the society should become attractive to people. What does an individual, who is excluded from the ranks of the fighters, lose today? Nothing. He saves membership dues. But what should he lose? -- This is of fundamental importance. A sober way of life should be attractive. Here is the sense in publicizing it. It should be interesting and varied -- not like everyone else's. The fighters for sobriety live and amuse themselves in not a very tempting manner. They do not drink, they doze by the television, and their happiness is not great.

It is possible to correct this situation in different ways. For example, one can grant society members preference in attending performances. Tickets to the movies, theater and concerts by popular artists can be sold based on requests by its primary organizations.

The society has an even vaster field of activity in housing rayons. Here, it seems to me, are the main points of application of the sobriety fighters' strength now. Here, primary organizations, which consist of genuine

enthusiasts prepared to work actively for the sake of sobriety, are primarily required. Of course, there will be more difficulties than at the work site; in turn, it is possible to do more, for example, organize metal worker's and joiner's shops in the basement of the building and invite instructors from the ranks of their members. For a small fee, let all those who wish to do so use these shops. There is only one condition -- perfect sobriety. An individual, who is seen drunk -- this is not so difficult in his rayon -- is deprived of the right to use the society's enterprises and institutions forever or for a certain period.

A government decree on expanding cooperative activity in the area of public dining was adopted not so long ago. It is a good cause with prospects. Why was not the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety included in it? Incidentally, the first tearooms in Russia just as gardens for relaxation and public libraries, which enjoy enormous popularity among the people, were established by the Sobriety Society. An experience worthy of imitation. Small cafes, bars, tearooms, and pastry shops would attract thousands of people to them. People would come to them with pleasure to sit, meet their friends, rest, watch some entertaining program, dance, and listen to music. There would be only one requirement -- absolute sobriety.

Juveniles and youth deserve special attention from society members. We talk a great deal about these problems, but we do little to solve them. Little girls and boys loaf as before in doorways, gateways, and on vacant lots. The society has an opportunity to shift from words to deeds -- equip premises or rent auditoriums and gymnasiums in schools at its own expense. Let there be discotheques and sports sections there, let associations based on interest operate in them, and let the young people sing and dance there. There is only one mandatory condition -- absolute sobriety. Its violation will entail loss of the right to attend all of the measures conducted by the society.

For practical and useful affairs, it would not be a pity to pay more than a ruble a year especially since our dues now, apparently, go only to the maintenance of the management staff. Was it really worthwhile to establish a complete society for this?

The situation, which has taken shape today in the sobriety fighter movement, requires a careful and serious analysis of the state of affairs and decisive measures for its radical improvement. One must not be afraid of mistakes. They are not terrible in themselves; however, the reluctance to admit them and the lack of principles and self-criticism in evaluating one's own actions -- as a rule, the cause itself suffers most from such displays.

Apparently, there would be sense in conducting a broad discussion of the situation that has taken shape in primary organizations and to summarize and discuss proposals for improving their subsequent work and for changing the statute and structure of the Society for the Struggle for Sobriety. There is no doubt that we need to do this. The whole question consists only of what should the society be and what task should it solve. Let us talk things over. This is in our common interests.

8802

CSO: 1830/566

UZBEK EDUCATION OFFICIAL ON NEED FOR BETTER TEACHERS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 15 May 1987 carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,300-word article by Kholmira Kholiyorov, Uzbek SSR Deputy Minister of Education, entitled "Education and Reform" in which he discusses the need to improve training of teachers in conjunction with the 7th Congress of Uzbekistan Teachers. He points out that each year over 21,000 new teachers are sent to republic secondary and other educational establishments. The ministry has been paying special attention to training teachers in certain subjects, including elementary classes, Russian language and literature, labor education, basic military training, preschool pedagogy, and psychology. Higher educational schools in Center cities, the RSFSR, and the Ukraine have provided great assistance in training Russian language teachers for national schools and those taught in Kazak, Kirgiz, Tajik, and Turkmen. Although highly skilled cadres form 47.9 percent of the teachers in pedagogical colleges, serious shortcomings persist in the training of future teachers in a number of these schools. Standards of admission and quality of teaching are poor, the physical and technical plants are inadequate, and only 50-60 percent of those admitted into graduate studies successfully defend candidate dissertations. Measures taken by pedagogical schools and educational organs to improve this situation are being implemented too slowly or have only a formal character. The curricula and programs of pedagogical schools must be revised in order to train teachers who can teach using the latest methods. This will require strengthening the relations of pedagogical schools with secondary, preschool, and other educational establishments, educational organs, and institutes for advanced training. Those who graduate from pedagogical schools must be teachers who can use computers in the study process and thereby play a decisive role in eliminating computer illiteracy.

UZBEK WORKING WOMEN DENIED RIGHTS IN RURAL AREAS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 15 May 1987 carries on page 2 a 2,500-word article by own correspondent M. Abdullayev entitled "The Value of Women's Work" in which he prints the comments of two officials to a letter written by three women who work in the fields. The letter writers state that they cannot take advantage of the rights and benefits accorded to urban working women. Not only do they work on weekends, but also long hours every day in the field and then at home. They do not get pregnancy leave or paid vacations in winter when field work is slack. They do hard labor in fields where chemicals threaten their

health and that of their children. They feel that they should have the same rights as other women, but local organizations in the rural areas pay no attention to their problems.

T. Sobitov, chairman of the Republic Committee of the Trade Union for APK Workers and secretary of the Republic Soviet of the Uzbekistan Trade Unions, replies that the letter writers have correctly described a situation in which women are not accorded their legal benefits and rights. He describes labor laws governing length of work days, days off, pregnancy leaves, and vacations. He states that special standards apply to women due to their physiques, physiology, and family requirements, and asserts that women engaged in field work have the same rights and benefits as other working women. Ensuring that these rights are accorded them is the responsibility of farm leaders and that they are observed the responsibility of trade unions. In 1986, trade union organizations sent 3,270 orders to farm leaders in which over 56,000 recommendations were made in regard to shortcomings in the observance of labor laws. Over 1,500 farm chiefs were fined and 218 fired for permitting shortcomings in this area. Several people were criminally prosecuted. Despite this, there has been no appreciable change in ensuring that women farm workers can take advantage of their rights.

V. Andriyanov, deputy to the Republic Chief Sanitary Inspector, comments that working women require places where they can wash, shower, and attend to personal hygiene. However, on the eve of the 1986 cotton harvest, adequate conditions for work and rest had not been created for them. Not a single shower was set up in field facilities and only 30-35 percent of these facilities had even primitive areas for personal hygiene. In agricultural work, women must do heavy physical labor in high temperatures with the air filled with dust and gas. They are sent out into fields sprayed with pesticides and defoliants much before the required 10-12 day waiting period. On farms which use excessive amounts of pesticides the incidence of hypertonic, intestinal, and anemic ailments has been increasing among women. The republic Health Ministry has made recommendations about ways to ensure clean air, proper working and sanitary conditions, and adequate dining and food preparation facilities, but in the majority of cases these have been ignored by local organizations.

9439

CSO: 1836/430

DIKE TO PROTECT LENINGRAD FROM FLOODS DISCUSSED

Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 87 pp 2-3

[Article by A. Tyutenkov: "An Unsteady Balance"; first paragraph is LENINSKAYA PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] The letters keep coming. In them are optimism and alarm, lack of faith and hope, curiosity and conviction. Despite the polarity of the points of view, a general idea is distinctly expressed here--concern for environmental conservation and apprehension lest nature be harmed by construction of a complex to protect Leningrad from flooding. This is fully understandable: the spread of democracy, openness and restructuring increases the civic, social activity of the people.

We will not hide it: there are still quite a few people who doubt the advisability of constructing the complex. Some pose a question of this sort: "Obviously, damages from flooding are over-exaggerated. If they do exist, they are considerably augmented by the plunderers of national property who write off to the elements the results of stealing and carelessness." We will not stop to argue with the anonymous author, but will cite documentally recorded facts. Three "incursions" of a long wave last year turned into 3 million rubles worth of damage for the city. We admit that this does not convince our readers: they say, where is the proof that it was not stealing? Very well, the raging elements, in 1924, at comparable prices, took the form of damages measuring 1.2 billion rubles. As you yourselves realize, at that time the store shelves were not so rich as to accommodate goods worth a sum like this.

The past, unusually severe, winter and the prolonged spring have raised additional doubts--like that expressed by Leningrad citizen Ye. Maksimov: "Right now, along the Neva in May, there is Ladogan ice--the entire river is literally clogged with it--and, moreover, it is moving very slowly, not as it did before. Is it possible that the entire mass of ice simply cannot pass the water throughputs at the dams freely and is piling up at the jams, forming an undesirable refrigerator close to the city?"

Again, a categorical "no!" must be said. Inspections by specialists, inquiries made of ship captains and, finally, personal trips to the site, are

convincing proof: the protective complex right here--the slush ice has not even reached it in the southern sections, and in the northern section the open pack-ice has floated through freely into the removal "gates." Even the local ice floes were not held back at the bay.

In a word, practical experience itself, scientific research and checks made of various decisions on a mock-up give calming and optimistic answers to the many questions asked us by Moscow citizen S. Drozdov, Leningrad citizens L. Andrushenko, V. Dronov, V. Borisov, V. Trubitsyn, A. Golubkov, B. Solovyev and many, many others.

With skeptics, however, the main argument still remains--deterioration of the condition of the Neva bay. This argument is supported, not without foundation, by data from last year's research, when, due to disturbances in the proportions that had formed in the water flow-through, in some places stagnation, florescence of the water and lower indicators of the ecological state of the environment were observed.

Time--Is Short

It was simplest "not to notice" the negative phenomena. To the credit of the collective of Leningradenergoenergospetsstroy, however, it drew the correct conclusion from the criticism and considerably accelerated the clearing and deepening of the water throughputs located between Gorskaya and Kotlin, at the same time forcing the pour-off of the dikes between the island and Bronka. As a result, the run-off almost returned to the former norm, distributed in the following proportion: 40 percent went to the south and 60--to the north. It must be assumed that the past troubles will hardly be repeated this summer. This point of view is shared by the main partners in the construction, although not without reservations, to which we will return later.

Today, however, they are striving to reinforce their confidence with action. Work is continuing on the 25-kilometer stretch of the protective structures at a stepped-up rate. Dikes are being poured from three bases--Gorskaya, Kronstadt and Bronka; every day 20-22,000 cubic meters of stone, rubble and sand-gravel mixture are laid in them. Three suction dredges, in addition to this, pump sand from the bottom of the bay there. After all, so far, the embankment has been raised only three meters above the water, and at that, in a narrow strip and not to its full length.

Meanwhile, the next thing is to double it and raise it another three meters, so that, with respect to the earth-moving work, what has been done so far must be regarded as a prelude to the main events. In all, over 450 million rubles have already been utilized to erect the complex, allowing for setting up the base enterprises, and of 400 objects, about 250 have been put into operation.

I ask B. Usanov, the buyer, chief of the Lenmorzashchit Administration: "Does this mean that, on the whole, half of the complex is already there?"

Boris Pavlovich categorically denies this:

"The main operations, just as the projects, still lie ahead. After all, let us say, it is one thing to pour the dikes and quite another to construct the 'gates,' extremely complex in the engineering, technical and technological respects, for the ship passage channels."

Specifically, for the southern sections, the area for which is partitioned off from the bay by a steel wall, 3 million cubic meters of soil are to be excavated, 600,000 cubic meters of reinforced concrete are to be laid and tens of thousands of tons of metal structures and equipment are to be installed. You cannot take such volumes as an ordinary assault. It takes time....

"And specialists," adds Yu. Sevenard, chief of Lengidroenergospetsstroy, "

Actually, the administration is short about 1500 persons to develop the work dictated by the schedules, and 500 of them should be machine operators. This means that the equipment is being poorly utilized and that the [illegible], urgent operations are being delayed. In the final analysis, before the start-up, the collective cannot spare the time that is being lost today. It needs the operational assistance of the Lensovet Ispolkom and its administrations, since Lengidroenergospetsstroy has changed departmental affiliation, and has transferred from the USSR Ministry of Power Machine Building to the jurisdiction of local organs.

At one of the dikes I met with A. Molodkin, brigade leader of the mechanized transport complex. He has been at the construction site literally from the first stake. Six years ago he cast off, from the northern bank to the bay, a granite memorial block with the inscription, "Sea, We Will Subdue You!" Then his detachment was transferred to Lomonosov--it set off from there, to meet the Kronshtadt citizens. Aleksey Leonidovich complained:

"It is not turning out well: we have at our disposal 42 powerful KHAZ excavators, bulldozers and mechanized roller-compactors. We are fully capable of increasing our shift output by a factor of 1.5, even though we have the greatest output. Unfortunately, we are on starvation rations, and materials are arriving at a poor rate from the quarries of the Karelian Isthmus."

The Finnish division of the Oktyabr Railroad often holds back deliveries. Railroad cars with nonmetalliferous cargoes from Vyborgskiy Rayon to Lomonosovskiy Rayon take several days to get there, and in time the shortage becomes acute. The construction workers offer the railroad workers a compromise: if there is not enough rolling stock, let us shorten, six-to-seven-fold, the shoulder of the transports, do not deliver the materials directly to the site, but to the Port of Vysotsk, and the Northwestern River Shipping Company will, on its own ships, transfer them directly to the dikes. The need for railroad cars will be cut by over half.

They agree on the matter. The papers are signed. But the urgent, deciding measures for this do not follow. Meanwhile, the navigation days are fading away, like the silhouettes of ships on the horizon.

Intersecting--Parallels

In my opinion, with the debates on the usefulness or harm of the maritime "shield" for ecology and for Leningrad, the most urgent problem is, ultimately, to put aside and divert the attention of the competent organizations and the public from the main questions. Just think what an effect a bridge spanning the river can have on the protection and purity of the environment. Not the least, essentially. At the same time, however, there is the effect that the water in the river will become unclouded.

The protective structures amount to nothing more than a huge crossing, with spanning structures and supports. Mock-up and mathematical studies have shown that there will be no stagnant phenomena, even in the stagnant waters in front of the dikes. In a number of cases, indeed, with the aid of water throughputs, as well as through creating artificial currents, due to the use of stib barricades in the bay, the possibility arises of regulating the washing of both the shore area and these zones.

Even the vehement opponents of the construction of the complex seem now to have comprehended the planners' intentions. This turn of affairs was clearly established at a recent press-conference in which leading specialists, scientists and the public took part. On the other hand, a doubt arose: in the present situation, brought about by a number of unfavorable circumstances, should haste be made to pour dikes in the south and to close the circle of the "environment" of the Neva bay even more tightly?

The construction workers call the question an absurd one and they are right. Since they put forth many arguments in favor of accelerating the work rates, not so much on their own protective complex, as on a clean environment for the city. And really, the state of the water in the bay is unsatisfactory with respect to a number of indicators--pollution by petroleum products, nitrates, anthracogenic microorganisms, copper, manganese and other substances, and it will deteriorate unless radical measures are taken. Hydrologists would certainly note this tendency, even if the present complex did not exist.

The essence of the situation is this. Environmental protection services assume, as that today in Leningrad 52 percent of the run-off is mechanically and biologically purified. Participants in the latest and preceding press-conferences have tried to find out the source of these data and how accurate they are. No instructive answer has been received. They have managed to reveal the fact that only the sewage run-offs in the near vicinity have been taken into consideration. What about those that directly enter the Neva and other rivers and canals?

We have no objective estimate of the amount and quality of the purification of waste waters. It is well known from practical experience how poorly organized the operation of existing structures is at industrial enterprises. Often they catch only the suspended particles, and there is no biological purification at all. They have been building this type of object for many, many years--for example, at the Kirov Plant, a plant for artistic glass, and the Combine imeni Karpov.

It is hardly necessary to define precisely who is to blame for the "lengthy construction projects." Probably, the three partners share equally in the incomplete work--the buyers, the construction workers and the planners. As was emphasized at the recent meeting of the CPSU Obkom Bureau, this happens because party and Soviet organs, science and health institutions and environmental protection organizations pay little attention to preserving water resources and eliminating the consequences of the effect of industrial enterprises on the environment.

With Care For the Shore

Unfortunately, the fate of the main "caliber" still remains uncertain--in particular--the Seveonny purification structures. The first section of them was put into operation last year, and its capacity is a half million cubic meters of run-off per day. Even today, however, it purifies nothing. They promise to launch it in August anyway. It is therefore to be hoped that, 19 months after the planned deadline for putting the first section into operation, it will begin to function.

It is difficult to predict the launching of the rest of the sections (750,000 cubic meters of run-off). It was specified for completion in 1990 when, properly, the basic volumes for the protective complex are slated for fulfillment. The launching and start-up process will then still take another one-and-a-half to two years. This is nothing, however, it seems not to mean anything: there is nothing to purify! The main collector for the remaining capacity--two reinforced concrete tunnels, four meters in diameter, very deep and extending 12 kilometers--has not been laid. Essentially, Glavleningradinzhstroy is faced with tunneling, in five years, 24 kilometers, which in its measurements is reminiscent of the subway, and by the same method--a tunnel shield. Even though M.Ye. Karpov, deputy chief of the Vodokanal Administration, assures us optimistically that the series of operations will succeed in being compatible with respect to time, there is still cause for anxiety: this most critical and extremely labor-intensive, complex business has not yet even begun. After all, not only must the course be tunneled, it must also be prepared (the soils frozen, the shafts put in place), and the mechanized tunneling units be designed and manufactured. Just when, when and within what deadlines will the entire series of difficult problems be solved--nobody knows.

In the southwest, Glavleningradinzhstroy, in conjunction with allied workers, has begun to erect a few more purification structures for a half-million meters of run-off. The city will not obtain them before 1993. Again, until then, polluted run-off will go directly to the Neva bay.

Let us admit, our contractors will find additional resources and forces and will reduce the length of time for the work. Will that make the problem of ecology less burning a question? To a certain extent--yes. Yet the second problem is moving to the forefront--the need to render the run-off safe and to decontaminate it.

It is obviously time to be seriously concerned, finally, with developing water-supply recycling systems at enterprises, first of all, where heavy

metals are discharged with the wastes--there will then be no need to render the run-off safe. Galvanized electrolytic and other production facilities are in mind. The first steps are being taken in this direction. Let us say, starting up the system at the Volkhov Aluminum Plant reduced the discharge of phosphate compounds into the Ladoga by about a thousand tons a year.

All the same, however, the prospect of converting plants, associations and factories to ecological purity does not inspire everyone. For almost seven years, a similar system has been under construction at the Krasnyy [illegible] Plant, but even now it is not fully equipped. A similar project at the Eirov Plant has been under construction for many years, as has already been mentioned (incidentally, the capacity of its structures is 420,000 cubic meters of run-off a day. For comparison: the entire city of Pskov discharges only 108,000 cubic meters of waste water), but it is doubtful that even half of the capacity will be put into operation this year.

Again, it is easy to find and name the guilty parties. Only, what will this change? The old familiar mistakes are repeated over and over. Can no other way be found, then? No one objects to the fact that construction of the structures themselves and of recycling systems is a specific concern, requiring experience, knowledge and practice. Obviously, the time has come for some trust to specialize in building these projects, as was done to install ventilating systems, and to create a unique planning-construction and start-up and adjustment firm, performing all the work from beginning to end, and turning the object over to the buyer "ready to go." We have everything we need for this, except that the forces and resources must be concentrated in one place, in certain hands. Then it will be easier to carry out a unified technological policy and to accumulate experience in order to raise both the economic efficiency of this construction and its quality.

In a word, by stepping up the rates of erecting the sea "shield," one cannot instantly tear one's gaze from the shore: how can one shout there so that the echo will answer from the Neva bay. There is, undoubtedly, only one thing to do: the problem must be solved with indissoluble unanimity, by attaching to it both the partners in construction of the projects and the controlling organs, obligated in the performance of their duty to guard the purity of the environment--the municipal sanitation-epidemiological station, the Northwest Basin Inspectorate, the rayon soviets, etc. Only by practical action is it possible to stabilize the unsteady position in which the ecology of the Gulf of Finland now finds itself.

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FLOODING IN TYUMEN OBLAST DETAILED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by Yu. Perepletkin, special IZVESTIYA correspondent, from Tyumen Oblast: "Unprecedented Flood Tides"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Hydrometeorologists divide flood tides into four categories, according to the scales and destructive force. The floods that are now gripping the vast territory of Tyumen Oblast are in the third category, and the only stronger one is flooding that is officially termed catastrophic.

On many rivers the water rise reached the highest point, sometimes reaching the control points and even exceeding them. Six major rayon centers, and the cities of Tyumen, Tobolsk and Khanty-Mansiysk were subjected to the onslaught of the elements. Some 500,000 hectares of agricultural land were flooded and 200,000 of them were plowed fields. The flood cut off about 80 villages and rural settlements, inundated over 1000 residences and 69 livestock-breeding farms. Some 20 kilometers of hard-surfaced roads and 300 kilometers of dirt roads were totally or partially destroyed, and 5 reinforced concrete bridges and 74 wooden ones were damaged. In some places, the people had to be evacuated.

As N. Moskalenko, deputy chairman of the Tyumen Oblispolkom, who headed the anti-flood commission, told us, the serious preliminary work begun as early as March, and the selflessness of the people helped to save Tyumen--a dike 27 kilometers long was constructed here. A manmade earthen levee saved a considerable territory of the lower part of Tobolsk from the water, as well. Isetskoye, Yarkovo and other population centers succeeded in shutting themselves off from the flooding with dikes.

Time and time again, crucial, dangerous moments occurred at Tura, Pyshma, Vagay, Tobol, Iset and Irtysh. Helicopters and cross-country vehicles are being used to carry out the operations, and the river transport workers have selected launches, barges and fast vessels with high navigability of the Zarya type. In areas that by estimate should have been cut off, fuel, commodities and livestock fodder were brought in ahead of time. Reliable communications were also ensured.

"It has been accepted that the flooding be regarded as a purely elemental phenomenon," said L. Cherkasov, director of the Tyumen Hydrometeorological Observatory. "I would call it, to some extent, social as well. Why has the inundation on small rivers now adopted such a fierce nature? Is it not because enterprises and farms, without taking ecological laws into account, have built on, for "internal use," all kinds of mill ponds and dams, and they, under the pressure of the water, have poured out and given a destructive wave? The Siberians, of course, are a restrained, peaceful people. How long, though, can this ordeal be suffered, under extreme conditions, things that could and should be prevented? It has long been known that there are population centers whose safety is guaranteed by reliable, permanent dams, and there need not be an enforced, heroic struggle at the moment when the elements attack...."

12151

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EXTENT OF VOLGA POLLUTION ASSESSED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by V. Drobotov, IZVESTIYA correspondent: "So That the Volga Does Not Suffer"]

[Excerpts] In the meadows between woods and lakes, connected in the spring high-water period with the Volga, other, man-made lakes, overflowing with the wastes from municipal sewage purification plants--so-called "silt fields"--have been emitting a stench. Thick, lead-black liquid has been flowing from the pipe laid across the river and wavering at the upper edge of the dam, and has spilled over more than once.

Even an amateur can see that everything is primitive here, and therefore the shores of the adjacent backwater lakes are covered with a black film, and even the reeds have withered.

"A good deal of our land is being spoiled," I listen to the bitter words of A.G. Galitsyn, director of the sovkhos at the experimental station of the All-Union Institute of Plant-Growing, "this sludge is still in the lakes and finds its way to the Volga. It is as if all this had been built in the wrong place!"

The structures of the municipal sewage purification plant could be seen beyond the forest on the island called Golodnyy, which, along with the adjacent Sarpinskiy Island, has a history going back to ancient times. It dates back to the battles with the Golden Horde, to the campaigns of Ivan the Terrible's detachments and to the period of creating the Tsardom itself, the 400th anniversary of which will be marked in two years. The islands also remember the outlaw Stepan Razin. They remember the Stalingrad of 1942: the protuberances of the dugouts and the ugly scars from the bomb explosions have still not been leveled out amidst the sparse groves.

The two islands, with respect to their location, are separated only by a narrow channel and lie opposite Volgograd, a city that seems to make a horse-shoe bend around them. By nature, from time immemorial, the islands and the banks of the "old" Volga, which washes them--on maps it is called Volozhka--have become favorite recreational spots. Here there are municipal parks near the city with a beach and dozens of tourist bases.

In the middle of the clearings, gardens have grown up and settlements of summer homes have appeared, in dense clusters. Increasingly, new sections have been singled out: it is as if the millionth city has splashed out onto the other bank of the Volga. The river has taken it and treated it kindly, not knowing how it would be paid back. Incidentally, it has "paid back" not so much the Volga as itself.

About 20 years ago they began to construct a complex for purification of municipal domestic sewage on Golodnyy Island. It proved to be exactly in the center of the suburban recreation sites described, in the middle of the Volga. It was then that the oblast organs and then Moscow sent a deluge of letters: would this complex not harm the river, the unique nature of the lower reaches of the Volga and, indeed, the people--after all, the Volga gives life to the city. Why not take the purification works with the "silt field-evaporators" outside the city, to the plains area? "Leave the Volga Alone!" was expressed in every letter.

"Do not worry, not a single drop of dirt will fall into the Volga," was the optimistic tone of the reply, including that made to the editors of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, by Yu. I. Lomakin, one of the inspirers of the plan, then chairman of the Volgograd Oblispolkom. This response, for his bold signature, has been preserved in my archives. Time has passed--it has advanced some to new positions and sent others into retirement. Now there is new personnel in the oblast organs and in the oblispolkom itself. Why, then, must we stir up the archives?

We answer: because unjustified optimism, when we disturb nature, is paid for dearly.

A reader's letter brought about a trip to Golodnyy Island and the Volga-Akhtubinsk flood plain, in the area of the evaporating ponds. The only thing is that it came to us by a roundabout route. The author of the letter was A.S. Svetozarov, a journalist from a local television studio, author and director of the program, "Society and Nature." His letter was at first addressed to the party obkom. It is not often that journalists appeal with letters, not from personal motives in high instances, but if they take this step it means that there is something out of the ordinary behind it.

This is from an interview with Professor Ye. S. Pavlovskiy: "A serious danger has been created: some 370-400,000 cubic meters of domestic sewage are now entering these purification works, and this exceeds the capacity of the two existing units by 20,000 cubic meters. Where can we dispose of them? The silt fields have overflowed. The Volga is suffering. The city is growing every year, and the ecological danger increases proportionally. The Volga and the city may incur great damage..."

After the broadcast, journalist A.S. Svetozarov decided to speak personally with the persons responsible--B.I. Govorun, chief of the oblkomkhoz, Ye. F. Mikheyev, director of the association for water and sewage services, V.I. Saygin and the Volgogradstroy Trust and V.V. Aleksandrin, administrators of the structures being built--constructing the third block for several years

already. He asked if they sensed any urgent danger? The mood of the collocutors was basically optimistic: there is nothing to fear, they say, it is just that construction of the third block is being delayed.

It became known at the television studio, however, that the point was not only the delay in the deadlines for constructing the additional block: at night, unpurified run-offs are discharged into the Volga, the recycling system is not completely constructed and has been abandoned, because of which the "silt fields" have overflowed, and the Volga flood plain is being polluted. The replies of the collocutors responsible, however, were circumvented and standard: "Certain operations are in progress. Moreover..."

It was then that the journalist sat down to write the letter. It was forwarded from the obkom to the oblispolkom, and went to A.S. Malchenko, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom. The latter could not begin to sort it out himself, fielded it to Ye.F. Mikheyev--and the circle was closed by the regular optimistic formal reply.

We talk to A.I. Vayshel, chief engineer of the Lower Volga Basin Water Supervision Inspectorate, and the cheerful colors fade:

"The complex on Golodnyy Island has been overloaded, and often the technology is violated, the new block is being constructed poorly, the plan for the recycling system has not been carried through, and if someone does not take an active hand, the construction workers will be excavating there for at least 15 years, and the Volga is already suffering.

Some 70,000 cubic meters of domestic waste, unpurified, is being discharged in Kirovskiy Rayon, and the turbid "stream" is creeping in the city center. The river is being polluted by the industrial flows from the Krasnyy Oktyabr Metallurgical Plant. No cycling system has been put into operation at the purification structures in the south section of the city and in the accumulation ponds the toxic wastes are beginning to penetrate the ground waters....

No one has heard of anyone being removed from his position for incompletely purified wastes.

At the basin water supervision inspectorate they speak with alarm of the unsubstantiated discharges of the water taken from the river for irrigation. Many letters on that subject arrive at the newspaper desk. Land reclamation and the ecology of the Volga constitute a particular, large-scale and complex topic. Today, however, we shall only note: the Volga is not bottomless, the sand bars on it are increasingly widening and this cannot help but be worrying, even though the "optimists" assure us: there is enough water in the Volga for all of us, they say. Would it not be better, before misfortune strikes, to think a little and take efficient, large-scale measures?

12151

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KARAKALPAK ACADEMICIAN PAINTS BLEAK FUTURE FOR ARAL REGION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 17 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by S. Kamolov, Academician and Chairman of the Board of the Karakalpak Filial of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, entitled "What Will Be Its Fate?" in which he discusses the effects of the drying up of the Aral Sea. Due to this process the climate is becoming more arid, the land is turning into desert, and the quality of drinking and irrigation water is getting worse. He ascribes the Aral Sea problem to the extensive form of irrigated farming, the reclamation of new lands, and generally a host of arbitrary decisions made in this area.

He points out that in the last three years over 40 scientific establishments have conducted research on the Aral problem that has clearly defined the consequences of this region turning into a desert. A new desert area will appear at a spot between the Karakum and the Kyzylkum, so that the entire ecological system in this zone will be destroyed. Because the Aral Sea provided moisture to the air for 100-150 kilometers around it, basically in Karakalpakistan and Khorezm Oblast, but also in Tashavuz Oblast of the Turkmen SSR, its disappearance will result in a drop in moisture content and higher temperatures in summer. These climatic changes will negatively affect plant and animal life and threaten the production of over one million tons of cotton in the Khorezm Valley. Moreover, a salt desert occupying 6 million hectares of land will exist where the water once did. Kamolov remarks that those scholars who propose that this area could become pasture land for livestock are merely dreaming. In addition, powerful storms will be created each year, lifting millions of tons of dust and salt into the air which will be carried to surrounding fields. Already, this dust and salt is falling on fields in Karakalpak, Khorezm, and Tashavuz Oblasts.

Kamolov states that along with the area turning into a desert the Amudarya River is becoming polluted by chemicals and agricultural waste water, resulting in a decline in the quality and quantity of agricultural and dairy products and an increase in health risks. Since 1961 over 50 fresh water lakes along the lower course of the Amudarya have dried up. The fishing industry that once was so vital in the Aral Sea has lost all economic value. He points out that regions around the Aral depend ecologically and socioeconomically on the sea and the rivers, which is why the level of the Aral must be maintained. He proposes that the level can be stabilized by increasing the inflow of drainage and waste water and, as far as possible, of water from the rivers. He feels it is of the greatest importance to halt the diversion of drainage water into the Amudarya. Diverting it to

the Aral will not save the sea but it will slow the process, preserve some vegetation, and decrease the movement of dust and salt. Moreover, so long as drainage water continues to flow into the Amudarya the water in the Kaparass Reservoir, built to provide drinking water, will increasingly become salinated. Kamolov concludes with the remark that he does not support diverting collector water to the Caspian Sea, and urges that all of it be diverted into the Aral.

UZBEK COMMITTEE TO SAVE ARAL MEETS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 22 May 1987 carries on page 1 an 800-word item entitled "The Aral Awaits Help" which reports that the Uzbek Writers Union Committee for Saving the Aral held a meeting of scholars, writers, and specialists, presided over by Ye. Berezikov, first deputy chairman of the board of the Writers Union. Pirmat Shermuhamedov, chairman of the committee, spoke about the urgency of the situation, and Sergey Morozov discussed the actions taken by the committee to help save the Aral and provide the public with reliable information. The writer Temur Polatov noted that the Aral has come to its present condition because agricultural officials have long ignored nature and the people. He pointed out that none of the current plans deal especially with the cotton problem or with the need to stop wasting water needed by the Aral on irrigation of infertile or newly reclaimed but low-yield fields. Tashkent State University Professor Z. Akramov complained that several groups of scholars had dealt with the problem for years but were ignored by scientific circles and the press. He reported that a scientific conference on the problem is being planned for September by the national and republic Academies of Sciences. S. Usmonov, director of the Central Asian Institute for Agricultural Economics, spoke about the connection of the Aral Sea problem to the reclamation of new lands and cotton cultivation, and supported the proposal of Temur Polatov. He stressed that the problem is not to open new cultivatable hectareage, especially when its low yields waste money and water, but to preserve existing fertile land. The people's poet Shukrullo noted that the problem of drinking water has been ignored. Already people are moving out of Muynak and others living around the Aral will suffer the same fate. At the end of the meeting Berezikov announced that a government commission for studying the problem of saving the Aral has begun work.

KARAKALPAK WRITINGS ABOUT ARAL PROBLEM SAID SUPPRESSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 23 May 1987 carries on page 4 a 1,500-word article by UzTAG correspondent A. Baranov entitled "The Aral's Fate is Our Fate." in which he reports on a meeting of the Uzbek Writers Union Committee for Saving the Aral. Baranov quotes at length a young Karakalpak writer named Orazboy Abdurahmonov who, after detailing the worsening ecological and socioeconomic conditions in the Aral region, said: "How could such a situation be permitted? The land is in such a critical condition that individuals who today occupy positions of responsibility are asking me this question. They say: 'Well, writers, where were you? Why were you silent?' But we were not silent at all. It is unnecessary to ask about the Aral Sea theme or the problems connected to it,

when the media and propaganda organs have banned discussion for 20 years. Our publicistic articles, artistic prose works, and even poems, remain unprinted... apparently blocked by the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control. I sent to Moscow to clarify this problem and appealed to the leaders of this committee. I wanted to know what connection this agency had to poetry. Those on the committee were astonished: they had never persecuted anyone or anything, and evidently they had not even heard about this."

METALLURGY, CHEMICAL PLANTS CREATE SEVERE POLLUTION IN ALMALYK

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 8 May 1987 carries on page 2 a 2,000-word article by Olga Krupenye and translated by M. Sadiy entitled "Almalyk: Problems That Cannot Be Ignored" in which she states that Almalyk ranks behind only Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara in volume of industrial production. As a metallurgy and chemicals center it is one of the most important cities in the republic. However, its plants are the source of enormous amounts of toxic sulphuric gases and wastes. Several years ago the copper smelting plant released wastes into the surrounding cotton fields that caused millions of rubles worth of damage to farms. The city health department and other organizations are fighting the toxic products of the copper smelting oven, but thus far have succeeded in shutting it down in the second and third quarters of each year. This is at best a temporary measure because it is difficult to find other work for the workers when it is shut down. However, plant officials state that the problem will be solved when an oven of new construction that does not release toxic substances is installed. According to V.N. Sigedin, director of the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine, plans for building and installing the new oven by 1991 have been completed. Although the inhabitants of Almalyk are glad to hear this, they know that these plans were begun in 1976 and called for commissioning of the new oven in 1984. In fact, funds for the preparatory work were first provided in 1984. Meanwhile, the copper smelting oven pours out hundreds of thousands of tons of toxic byproducts each year, and the people of Almalyk, including its party and soviet leaders, must breathe this polluted air.

Krupenye also discusses the Almalyk Chemical Plant, which is the largest Central Asian enterprise producing nitrogen phosphate fertilizer. Recently, more has been said about the plant as one of the basic sources of environmental pollution. Surrounding cotton fields are being covered with ammonia, fluorine, and gypsum, and being taken out of production. In spring a phosphate gypsum dust rises from the fields and blows into Almalyk. This dust is the source of the rising incidence of allergies and lung and respiratory tract diseases in the city. For example, respiratory tract diseases rose 11 percent between 1982 and 1984. She states that every modern industrial city has problems and Almalyk is no exception. However, eyes have remained shut to the numerous shortcomings and problems that must be solved. Now, it has become customary to blame "recent years" for every problem. But, those times are gone. It may be difficult to correct something in one or two years, but this work must be done. Krupenye concludes with a description of dust clouds and gases covering the city and its inhabitants coughing without letup.

UZBEK COMMENTATOR ON AFGHAN POLICY OF NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 22 May 1987 carries on page 7 a 700-word article by Abduhamid Pardayev entitled "Afghanistan: The Policy of National Construction and Its Adversaries" in which he comments on the policy of national construction being implemented by the PDPA and DRA government. He states that this process has begun with a unilateral cease fire by government troops and the pardoning of nearly 5,000 former opponents of the present regime. There are over 1,100 commissions of national construction which are establishing communications with opposing groups and opening the door to the return of Afghan refugees who fled as a result of deceit or violence. Thus far, over 34,000 Afghans have returned. The commissions provide them with food, housing, and transportation, and find them work. According to the newspaper HAQIQATIINQILOBI SAVR, some 300 million afganis have been allocated for aid to returnees. Nearly 10,000 people have laid down their arms and now lead peaceful lives, and talks are being held with over 450 bands.

Pardayev states that the new policy is especially important for the Afghanistan-Pakistan talks being held under United Nations auspices in Geneva. The basic goals of these talks are to produce measures aimed at a political settlement of the situation on the borders of Afghanistan, and to eliminate and prevent the recurrence of armed intervention in the internal affairs of the country. As a result of the undeclared war, thousands of Afghans have died, and hundreds of schools, hospitals, enterprises, and cultural sites have been destroyed. According to U.N. estimates, this senseless fratricide has wreaked over 35 billion afganis worth of damage.

Pardayev asserts that the USSR is assisting the effort to reach an immediate political solution to the situation on the borders. However, the United States, which is basically to blame for the "Afghan problem," continues its provocations. Pakistan, supported by American military and financial aid, has become a staging area for armed intervention. Washington has promised those who reject a cease fire a new round of money and weapons and it is frightening Iran with talk about "the Communist threat." The United States has allocated \$600 million in military aid to opponents of the regime and has pledged to send another 300 Stinger missiles. American advisers are providing instruction in the use of this weapon at camps in Pakistan. Pardayev concludes with the comment that although enemies of an independent Afghanistan are stepping up their opposition to the policy of national construction there is no doubt that this policy will be successful.

INDIAN FIRMS BUILD HOTELS IN UZBEKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 1 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 200-word item from UzTAG entitled "Indian Hotels in Uzbekistan" which reports that Indian construction firms have begun to build new hotels in Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara under contract to the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism. The Tashkent Zonal Scientific Research Institute for Experimental Design participated in designing the

plans for the hotels. Several Indian firms were invited to present bids for the contract and the best of these were selected. Indian construction workers and engineers have arrived in Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara, and have begun to prepare the construction sites. The contracting agency agreed to furnish a part of the construction materials and equipment, and Soviet builders will install external communications, transformers, telephone stations, and elevators. The report notes that the Samarkand hotel is designed to accommodate 500, the Bukhara hotel 430, and the Tashkent hotel 600 guests.

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